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Turkish Accusations at CSCE Forum Rejected

AU1710202089 Sofia BTA in English
1836 GMT 17 Oct 89

["All Countries Share Responsibility for Condition of Europe's Environment"—BTA headline]

[Excerpts] Sofia, October 17 (BTA)—The CSCE meeting on the protection of the environment continued in open plenary sessions today. In their statements the delegates of individual countries and of international organisations identified the wide variety of outstanding problems and the complexity of the tasks which have to be fulfilled in a way that would mitigate the threat to the environment. The desire expressed by each country to help in the environmental regeneration and conservation effort raises the hope that this mitigation will be a success. This hope is reinforced by the fact that the meeting comes at a time of steady improvement of East-West relations and of unprecedented political rapprochement. [passage omitted]

In his speech Mr Alev Kalic, leader of the Turkish delegation, distanced himself completely from the topic of the forum and did not even say a word about the current problems of environment protection in the continent. Instead, he used the forum to repeat the utterly unfounded slanders of the Turkish side against Bulgaria. Runned through in the spirit of the Turkish propaganda during the recent months his speech contained gross falsifications and accusations against the Bulgarian Government. Behind this well-known rhetoric once again was revealed the desire of the Turkish side to divert the attention of the international public from the numerous problems in Turkey, to continue its attempts to discredit Bulgaria without chosing the place and means to that end.

Answering to the speech of the Turkish representative a member of the Bulgarian delegation said that it is not in the habits of hospitality to start a dispute, even the most polite, with some of the guests present here but at the same time the Bulgarian delegation does not want to create the impression that it evades the questions and what is more the speech of the Turkish representative surpasses the limits of decency and tolerance.

The Turkish speech speaks of itself as the latest expression of a characteristic political culture which is eagerly knocking on the European door. A political culture which has stepped on the European continent symbolically only with 3 per cent of its wholeness. And it is not only that. The speech of the Turkish representative is a new telling expression of a state ideology preaching outbound aggression and violence against its own people and the numerous minorities and cultures on its territory. This is the ideology of pan-Turkism about which a lot had been said at the international arena and, obviously, in the future it will also be mentioned.

"We cannot and we will not agree to arrogant claims amounting to attempts at dictating terms," the Bulgarian representative said. "There has never been and there is no Bulgarian Government that would accept an ultimatum that our people should humbly approve of the cultural, religious and physical genocide to which they were subjected in the course of centuries.

"We Bulgarians are in the best position to know the drama of our people. Just as in the past, outside forces are seeking to impose a time of parting on our people. Those who hope to influence the processes of restructuring in Bulgaria by meddling in the processes of the Bulgarian nation's consolidation and by trying to rewrite history are mistaken," the speaker pointed out.

"The Turkish delegate tried to represent our country as a hell from which thousands of Bulgarian citizens have been expelled. Naturally, he failed to observe that tens of thousands of those Bulgarian citizens whom he described as banished are now repatriating because they have awakened to the illusory value of the appeals to identify with what the Turkish propaganda touted as a promised land. Their accounts entirely refute what the Turkish delegate said today. The fabrications circulated by Turkey have been repeatedly refuted by many independent and unbiased observers and journalists who have freely visited Bulgaria.

"Turkey has expressed the gladdening readiness to do something about the reunification of divided families so as to ameliorate the fate of those people. The blame for their predicament rests entirely with Turkey as it practically reduced to a trickle the number of Bulgarian citizens granted entry to its territory while raising obstacles to those who want to return to Bulgaria.

"Bulgaria has repeatedly set forth its position on these matters, at top-level forums included. Addressing the regular session of the UN General Assembly, the Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs recently laid down again our principled and constructive approach. We believe that it is no longer necessary to repeat our known position that we have always favoured honest negotiations on equal terms without preconditions at any level.

"Guided precisely by this understanding, our country accepted an invitation from Kuwait for the the ministers of foreign affairs of Bulgaria and Turkey to meet at an early date.

"Now, however, we are witnessing an odd phenomenon, or yet another paradox. The bilateral meeting has not yet begun and the Turkish delegate already starts misrepesenting the contents of its agenda.

"All this is not surprising to us because it was precisely Turkey which torpedoed the implementation of the 1988 Belgrade Protocol and the two meetings agreed with the mediation of the Soviet Union and due to have taken place in Vienna in the summer of 1989 and at the opening of the UN General Assembly session.

"There is no room for guesswork: Turkey is obviously seeking to wreck not only any forum of bilateral dialogue but the present meeting on environmental protection too."

Lukanov Meets Voronin, Ministers in Moscow

AU1810104689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Oct 89 p 5

[Text] Moscow, 16 October (BTA correspondent)—Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations of Bulgaria, paid a short working visit to Moscow from 14 to 16 October.

He was received by Lev Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and had meetings with Vladimir Durasov, first deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee; Konstantin Katushev, minister of foreign economic relations of the USSR; Serafim Kolpakov, minister of ferrous metallurgy of the USSR; and Mikhail Shchadov, minister of the coal industry of the USSR.

At the meetings, specific approaches and measures were discussed aimed at speedily adapting the ministries, organizations, and companies of both countries to the new conditions arising in connection with the economic reforms being carried out in them. Stress was laid on the opportunities being opened up by these reforms for expanding the cooperation and diversifying its forms. Current issues were examined relating to the bilateral goods exchange, as well as questions concerning the preparation of the protocol for goods exchange and payments between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR in 1990.

Kazakh SSR Premier, Delegation Tour Plovdiv

AU1110081389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Excerpts] A Soviet delegation led by Uzakbay Karamanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, arrived in Bulgaria today on a working visit. At Plovdiv Airport the delegation was welcomed and accompanied by Comrade Georgi Yordanov.

During the first day of their visit the Soviet guests visited industrial enterprises and agricultural units in Plovdiv Municipality where vanguard technologies were being applied. [passage omitted]

Both sides voiced the desire to implement modern forms of cooperation and set up joint enterprises.

The talks at the institute of fruit-growing also proceeded in the same spirit.

The Soviet visitors had a meeting with Pantaley Pachov, first secretary of the Plovdiv Oblast Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and Stoyanka Krustenova, chairman of the Executive Committee of Plovdiv Oblast People's Council. Later they paid their respects and laid wreaths at the Soviet Soldier's Memorial on the Hill of the Liberators and at the Fraternal Grave, and viewed the architectural sights of the revivalist period in old Plovdiv.

Mladenov Exchanges Messages With GDR's Fischer

AU1810110889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Oct 89 p 2

[Text] On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and the GDR, the two countries' foreign ministers, Petur Mladenov and Oskar Fischer, exchanged greetings telegrams.

It is stressed in the telegrams that over the years the relations between Bulgaria and the GDR have been built up on the basis of the fundamental coincidence of the two people's aims and ideals. Stress is laid upon the high level of the comprehensive cooperation, which has made a considerable contribution to the achievements of both countries in socialist construction, as well as to their active cooperation in the international arena.

Stoichkov Receives Cuban Nuclear Energy Official

AU0910140889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Oct 89 p 2

[BTA report: "Cooperation in Nuclear Power Supply"]

[Text] On 3 October Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Fidel Castro Diaz, secretary of Cuba's National Committee on Peaceful Use of Nuclear Energy.

Information was exchanged on the new tendencies in the peaceful use of nuclear energy in the two countries. Special attention was devoted to strengthening cooperation between Bulgaria and Cuba in this area, and the necessity of strengthening and expanding cooperation in utilizing nuclear energy for peaceful goals, first of all in agriculture, industry, chemistry, and medicine, was pointed out.

The meeting was attended by Ivan Pandev, chairman of the Committee for Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy at the Council of Ministers, and Manuel Perez Hernandez, Cuban ambassador to Bulgaria.

Further on Visit

AU0610193789 Sofia BTA in English 1856 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Sofia, October 6 (BTA)—In the conditions of a sweeping innovation of socialism, Cuba and Bulgaria are advancing side by side, said today to a group of journalists Mr Jorge Risquet Valdes, member of the Politburo and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee [CC] of the Communist Party of Cuba.

Mr Jorge Risquet Valdes who is paying a visit here as the head of a delegation of the CC of Communist Party of Cuba went on by pointing out the upgrade development of Cuban-Bulgarian relations on the basis of their common principles and aspirations, their common will for strengthening peace in the world.

Speaking about the achievements of Cuba and Bulgaria in the building of socialism, the guest said that the reforms implemented in the two countries meet with a wide-ranging international response.

Mr Valdes condemned the attempts of certain imperialistic circles to intervene in the socialist countries' international affairs and stressed the necessity of further strengthening the solidarity and unity of action among the communist and workers parties.

The guest highly appreciated the talks with the Bulgarian party and state leader, Mr Todor Zhivkov.

Cubans Depart

AU0910135089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Oct 89 p 2

[Text] On 7 October the delegation of the Communist Party of Cuba led by Jorge Risquet Valdes, member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary, left Bulgaria. The delegation visited Bulgaria at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP].

At Plovdiv airport the delegation was seen off by Milko Balev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, and Manuel Perez Hernandez, Cuban ambassador to Bulgaria.

Yemeni Socialist Party Leader Visits Plovdiv

AU0910203089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] 'Ali Salim al-Beidh, general secretary of the Yemeni Socialist Party Central Committee, arrived on a friendly visit today, at the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee and chairman of the State Council.

At Plovdiv Airport the guest was welcomed by Comrade Milko Balev and Dimitur Stanishev, and by Panteley Pashov, first secretary of the Plovdiv Oblast BCP Committee.

Meets Zhivkov

AU1010203489 Sofia BTA in English 1901 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Sofia, October 10 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, conferred here today with Mr 'Ali Salim al-Beidh, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party (YSP).

They surveyed in detail and in a constructive spirit the state and the prospects of cooperation between the two parties and exchanged views on the further fruitful promotion of relations between Bulgaria and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and on other pressing international issues.

The two leaders stressed the major importance of new political thinking for the assertion of dialogue as the only means to settle global and regional problems and to build a peaceful, nuclear-free and non-violent world.

In this connection, the sides reiterated the need to call a UN-sponsored international conference on a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem. Unqualified solidarity was expressed with the heroic uprising of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. An emphasis was laid on the need of continued efforts to end the gory civil war in Lebanon, to restore peace and to guarantee that country's sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence.

In a cordial atmosphere and a spirit of comradely candour and mutual understanding, the sides briefed each other on the work of the two parties and expressed determination for a further consolidation of the friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the YSP, between the two countries and peoples on the basis of their shared ideals and international solidarity. X X X

After the meeting Mr Todor Zhivkov presented Mr 'Ali Salim al-Beidh with the Order of the People's Republic of Bulgaria First Class, which had been conferred on him for his services to the strengthening of the Arab national liberation movement, to the maintenance of world peace, for his contribution to the promotion of friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the YSP, between Bulgaria and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and between the two peoples, and on the occasion of his 50th birthday.

At the awarding ceremony the two leaders made speeches in which they reaffirmed their shared desire for a strengthening and promotion of the friendly contacts between the BCP and the YSP and between the two peoples.

"We appreciate the positive attitude which the Yemeni party and state leadership take of the processes of revolutionary renewal of socialist society in Bulgaria, their tangible support for the Bulgarian foreign policy in the Balkans, in Europe and the world," Mr Todor Zhivkov pointed out.

'Ali Salim al-Beidh thanked for the high distinction and said he views it as a token of Bulgaria's friendly feelings for the Yemeni people.

"We are well aware that there are many forces in the present-day world which are pained by every success of yours and would like to see the efforts at renewing

socialism and at speeding up its progress collapse. This is where we see the reason for the provocative smear campaign against Bulgaria," he said, expressing his conviction that that campaign will inevitably fail.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its 1830 newscast on 10 October, in reporting the above award ceremony, adds: "The award ceremony was attended by Comrades Grisha Filipov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Yordan Yotov, Milko Balev, Dimitur Stanishev, and Emil Khristov, and by the officials accompanying 'Ali Salim al-Beidh."]

Delegation Departs

AU1210163189 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] 'Ali Salim al-Beidh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party, and his accompanying delegation departed from Bulgaria today. They had been on a friendly visit to Bulgaria.

During their stay in Bulgaria the eminent visitor and those accompanying him had various meetings. Information was exchanged on topical issues relating to the international situation and the activities of the two parties, and discussions held on a number of questions concerning interparty cooperation in the spirit of the accords reached between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and 'Ali Salim al-Beidh.

At Sofia Airport the visitors were seen off by Comrades Milko Balev and Dimitur Stanishev.

Cypriot President Plans Visit in November

AU0310223689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Oct 89 p 6

[Report by Stepan Eramyan and Tsocho Shatrov, special RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondents from Nicosia: "The First Festival of the Daily KHARAVYI"]

[Excerpt] Nicosia, 1 October—Yeoryios Vasiliou, president of the Republic of Cyprus, will visit the People's Republic of Bulgaria in November 1989. He announced this visit at yesterday's news conference, held at the Presidential Palace, where he answered the questions of a RABOTNICHESKO DELO team.

He expressed his high appreciation for the relations between Bulgaria and Cyprus. During his meeting with representatives of the journalists attending the festival of the daily KHARAVYI, the president analyzed the recent developments in the Cyprus problem. He pointed out that it is necessary to search for a generally acceptable platform. In this respect, the Turkish Government and Denktas should contribute their share to progressing toward the negotiation table if they sincerely wish to establish a united, independent, unaligned, and free Cyprus. [passage omitted]

Economy Overcomes Loss of Muslim Workers

AU1210153989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Oct 89 p 6

[Interview with Stoyan Ovcharov, Bulgarian economics and planning minister, by Miroslav Fladr, RUDE PRAVO correspondent: "Reform and Its Prospects"—in Sofia, date not given]

[Text] The past 12 months were a period of penetrating economic changes in Bulgaria. Not only in industry, but also in agriculture and other spheres. From the contemplated plans new plans are being gradually born—with lesser or greater difficulties. How does the most competent man see this? Our Sofia correspondent has asked this question of Stoyan Ovcharov, candidate member of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee Politburo and minister of economics and planning of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

[Fladr] What are the first results of the economic reform of the end of last year—the establishment of companies?

[Ovcharov] The December 1988 session of the BCP Central Committee laid foundations for a new stage regarding the realization of the Concept for the Further Development of Socialism in Bulgaria, which is the strategic program for social and economic restructuring in the country. A course was adopted on a resolute democratization of production relations and the establishment of a corresponding organization of the economy.

The company-based organization of economic activity is the expression of the endeavor to develop initiative and creative activity of an individual and a work collective; of the endeavor, based of economic interest and accountability, for the results of management to overcome the estrangement from the means of production and the results of work. The company organizations are creating equal economic conditions for economic activities based on all forms of ownership—state, cooperative, municipal, social organizations', and citizens' ownership. The companies established on this basis will compete with one another, their development determined by economic effectiveness and solvency. Under these conditions, self-financing and the ability to compete on the domestic and international market are the basic criteria for the establishment of self-financed companies.

The process of the establishment of companies in the country began at the beginning of the year with the publishing of decree No.56 on economic activity and the code of regulations. There are already some 500 state companies involved in production and other spheres, which are the "backbone" of the economy.

The number of registered municipal and cooperative companies is increasing. Citizens are very active when it comes to establishing individual and collective companies. The establishment of shareholding companies is just beginning.

[Fladr] In the context of this reform, what constitutes moving to the shareholding form, and when has this idea come into being?

[Ovcharov] An important sign of the economic changes in our country is the development of money-market relations and the strengthening of their influence, not only on the functioning of economic units, but also on the shaping of the organizational-production structure of the national economy, a matter that has been the state's privilege until now.

In the shareholding form [akcionarstvi] we see the possibility to resolve the following important and still unsolved problems:

First, the development of the process of concentration and specialization by means of a free flow of available financial and other resources of companies that are legal persons. We expect that the fundamental motive in the companies' conduct will be investing capital in promising productions, a matter that will speed up their development, and that this will help to effectively restructure the economy. On the other hand, we expect that the production- technical relations among companies will be strengthened.

Second, thanks to the shareholding form of ownership, we are creating conditions for collective self-management. I would like to note that Bulgarian citizens can buy shares to the extent determined by the law only of a company for which they work. This procedure of acquiring shares by people considerably differs from the conventional shareholding form, but it corresponds with our goals—combining individual interests with the interests of the company without creating conditions for unearned enrichment.

Third, attracting foreign investment, for which the shareholding form creates favorable conditions.

A new impetus to the development of the shareholding form has been given by this year's decree No.36 of the Council of Ministers, in line with which a great number of state and social companies will be transformed into shareholding companies.

[Fladr] Will the Bulgarian economy keep on opening itself to the world—what has been achieved to date?

[Ovcharov] Our legislation creates extensive possibilities for the participation of foreign partners in the Bulgarian economy. Equal economic and legal conditions have been ensured for all foreigners in the economic activity that they are carrying out. Foreign companies and joint ventures have the same rights as Bulgarian companies. The formalities connected with individual activities or the activities of joint ventures have been minimized. Foreign companies and joint ventures are making use of the simplified tax regimen. Issues connected with the transfer of profits and the protection of foreigners' investments are being resolved. The opening of the first duty-free zones are a new and promising form for us.

[Fladr] One speaks of good forecasts regarding this year's harvest. In this connection—what are Bulgaria's prospects for being self-sufficient in food?

[Ovcharov] Our agriculture and food industry are well developed and this allows us not only to cover our basic foodstuffs needs, but even to export a considerable quantity of them. The forecasts for this year's harvest are good, and if the harvest and its valorization [zuzitkovani] are well organized, we will create conditions for satisfying more fully domestic and export needs.

Adoption of a new legislation on the use of land stressed the development of leasing and leasing relations. More than 80,000 persons are working in accordance with the stipulations of that decree and contributing to the development of trade, services, public catering, transportation, agricultural production, and production of consumer goods. Since the beginning of this year, citizens can set up companies which work under the same conditions as companies based on different forms of socialist ownership. Companies owned by citizens can acquire an unlimited volume of production assets, hire up to 10 persons, and conclude temporary work contracts with an unlimited number of persons for seasonal work. More than 6,000 individual and collective companies of citizens have been registered in 5 months.

We are conducting a policy of encouragement and assistance to help those companies develop as a necessary component of the economic structure.

[Fladr] The exodus of several hundred thousand citizens of Muslim faith to Turkey has caused considerable economic difficulties. Can you tell me how successful you are in overcoming them?

[Ovcharov] It is understandable that from the economic point of view, a sudden drop in the able-bodied population, even if only a small percentage is involved, causes considerable difficulties.

These difficulties have not substantially affected the economy thanks to the enhanced responsibility and discipline of the working people and to their patriotism. Many office workers, old-age pensioners, and students have gone into production voluntarily. Regions which have been hit hardest have been helped by other regions. As the consequence of improved organization, plans in many places have been fulfilled on schedule, and even the quality of products has improved.

At the same time, the government took economic and organizational steps of temporary and long-term nature to make up for the losses and ensure normal work rhythm. Possibilities of increasing production by means of redistribution of resources have been reassessed. New forms of remuneration and incentives for production in excess of the plan have been introduced. Labor brigades are being organized to help the agricultural sector. Social organizations, too, have worked out their measures.

Despite the difficulties, I think that with the right organization and discipline at every worksite, we will fulfill the plan of the country's social and economic development successfully.

[Fladr] I thank you for the interview.

Drug Addiction Expert Outlines Problem

AU1110152189 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No 40, 4 Oct 89 p 5

[Interview with Dr Todor Stankushev by Georgi Todorov: "Drug Addicts From Harmonious Families"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Todorov] I remember that some years ago I conducted an extensive poll among distinguished Bulgarian scientists from various branches. Dr Todor Stankushev was one of them, of course. His research in the sphere of social psychiatry, alcoholism, and drug addiction is very popular. [passage omitted]

Today, in the era of glasnost, we can once more "dare" to examine the causes of drug addiction in our country and the extent to which we are ready to cope with this problem.

Professor Stankushev, data on the number of drug addicts in our country are published infrequently in our press and the figures provided invariably differ from one another. We have the impression that the exact figures are deliberately omitted. Is there some kind of taboo related to the revelation of truth on this problem?

[Stankushev] No, there never has been; there is and there should be no taboo concerning this problem. A Bulgarian scientific paper on the subject was published for the first time in 1971, because prior to 1968 we just had no reason to deal with scientific research in this area of medical science. Why was that so? The number of drug addicts in our country was very limited. The majority consisted of medical personnel who had become addicted as a result of their treating themselves with various drugs. [passage omitted]

After 1971, I personally submitted such data from scientific and popular-science journals, and they were published in RABOTNICHESKO DELO, ANTENI, POGLED, and in some popular medical pamphlets issued by "Medicine and Physical Culture" publications.

[Todorov] Could you indicate the exact number of drug addicts in our country?

[Stankushev] By the end of 1988, a total of 539 people had been registered in the psychiatric health centers as non-addicted drug users, while 637 people had been registered as addicts. These data are known to the health services and the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Evidently, the number of drug addicts is not very large. Nevertheless, it causes concern and requires great attention, because trends toward drug addiction are increasing.

However, we may ask: Do these data correspond to the actual number of drug addicts?

The data we report contain the names of certain persons who are known to the health services and militia organs. Some of these people may have stopped abusing drugs for a certain period, others may have died, and so forth. Dispensary psychiatric services clarify their exact numbers by the end of each year. Naturally, other people may exist who are still in the initial period of addiction, and for this reason they have not been subjected to medical examination or have not attracted the attention of the militia organs. Naturally, such people are not registered, but their number is not large, and does not contribute to the extent of the problem. [passage omitted]

[Todorov] Do you not think that we are facing a strange contradiction: Our media constantly report data on the arrest of drug smugglers at our border checkpoints, while in the meantime drug addicts in our country manage to find ways and means of obtaining their drugs?

[Stankushev] The supply of psychotropic drugs is mostly provided by drugstores and medical services through forged prescriptions, or thefts, or by feigned illnesses, and so forth. Unfortunately, our justice is unjustifiably lenient toward the "mediators" who are supplying our addicts with the drugs requested by them.

[Todorov] Your longstanding practice presumably makes it possible to sum up the features of the typical Bulgarian drug addict....

[Stankushev] Yes, indeed! He is usually male, between 16 and 24 years old, and a high school dropout. He does not like working and has no regular job. He seems well educated when you talk to him. He most frequently describes himself as having grown up in a family in which the parents had no time for him. He adores his friends and tries to cover up for their misdemeanors. Drug addict groups are closely knit communities which respect each other and obey their leaders. [passage omitted]

[Todorov] May we close our interview with an optimistic forecast from you?

[Stankushev] The best results can only be obtained if we change our tactics and strategy in the struggle against drug addicts, if we apply a more humanitarian approach to these people, who are sick. Along with this, however, we should have stricter laws against healthy people who deal in drugs and contribute to the expansion of drug addiction. This would be the correct method, namely, to apply a more democratic and more humanitarian approach to the sick, on the one hand, and to apply greater strictness to drug dealers, on the other!

Husak, Jakes, Receive USSR's Zotov, Kondakov

AU1610173189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Oct 89 p 1

[CTK report: "New Military Representative"]

[Text] Prague—CSSR President Gustav Husak received Colonel General Nikolay Zotov, senior representative of the chief commander of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states at Prague Castle on Friday [13 October] in connection with the latter's departure from Czechoslovakia.

In the course of a cordial chat, Gustav Husak thanked Nikolay Zotov for the work he did, which contributed to the intensification of collaboration between the Czechoslovak People's Army and the armies of the other Warsaw Pact member states. He wished him much success and contentment in his future life.

At the same time, the CSSR president received Colonel General Yevgeniy Kondakov, the new senior representative of the chief commander of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states, and wished him much success in his activity.

The reception was attended by Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense; Frantisek Salda, head of the Chancellery of the CSSR President; and Lieutenent General Jiri Necas, head of the Military Office of the CSSR President. Viktor Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR, was also present.

Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, received the Soviet commanders on the same day.

They discussed issues connected with the ensurance of the defense-capability of the Warsaw Pact member states and the collaboration between their armies. Milos Jakes thanked Nikolay Zotov for his work during his assignement in the CSSR and wished Yevegeniy Kondakov much successes in his new mission.

Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense; Rudolf Hegenbart, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department; and Viktor Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR were preswent at the reception.

CSSR-PRC Conference on Restructuring Held

AU1710100789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Oct 89 p 8

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] "Restructuring in the CSSR and the PRC—Common Features and Differences" was the theme of a roundtable conference of our and Chinese scientists of the Institute of Economics of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and the Chinese Institute of Contemporary International Relations, which ended in Prague recently. Some identical approaches to problems which are connected with the implementation of the principles of restructuring in the two countries—for example, when asserting laws on state enterprises, were affirmed. The difference of the economies is obvious, among other things, in agriculture.

Lokvenc Pessimistic About Gabcikovo-Nagymaros

AU1710130189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Oct 89 p 1

[Interview with Vladimir Lokvenc, CSSR Government commissioner for the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project on the Danube, by Bratislava PRAVDA staff journalist Lubo Rabay: "Time For Final Decision Is Drawing Near"—place and date not given]

[Text] Questions connected with the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros System of Hydroworks on the Danube were among the main subjects on the agenda of the [11 October] talks between CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec and Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic. Our staff journalist Lubo Rabay spoke about the results of the talks with Vladimir Lokvenc, CSSR Government commissioner for the construction of the system of hydroworks, who took part in them in Prague.

[Rabay] The Hungarian Government still has 2 weeks to submit its standpoint to the Hungarian Parliament, which is to make the final decision. Up to now the standpoints of the Czechoslovak and Hungarian Governments have differed. In your opinion, is there still any chance of agreement?

[Lokvenc] Originally, the Hungarian side asked for 2 months to assess "new" circumstances. At the subsequent meeting of the premiers it asked for 2 more months. Now, in the submitted options it is demanding in the case of the Gabcikovo hydroproject alone a postponement by 1, 3, and even more years.... Thus, it can hardly be said that our positions have converged. True, the Hungarian guest expressed satisfaction over the fact that our side had accepted the proposal to reassess in this short span of time the essence of the proposals that were submitted earlier. Well, by accepting this, we wanted to signal to the Hungarian delegation that we expect initiative on its behalf, and that it, too, will consider our arguments. We are willing to discuss any question, but we will in any case stick to objective facts, excluding any tendencies and emotions.

[Rabay] According to the Hungarian premier's press statement issued at the end of the talks, the essence of the Hungarian rejective stance arises from the fact that the completion of the hydroproject would cause ecological difficulties for both sides. What place did these issues have in the latest talks?

[Lokvenc] This time these problems were not specifically discussed. Groups of the two countries' experts met on more than one occasion when making preparations for

the talks. These talks were very thorough; all the Hungarian side's objections were considered. Both the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and the Slovak Academy of Sciences afterward adopted the following position: The arguments in favor of completing the construction of the hydroworks system issue from adequate findings gained at the level of current knowledge. In addition, these are findings at which we arrived together with the Hungarian experts during the planning and in the course of the construction. We repeat once more: no new facts were submitted that would cast doubt on the ecological safety of the Czechoslovak and Hungarian territory. The Hungarian experts no longer assert that anything is a direct threat, but they want to continue to study the issue before the project goes into operation. This could go on forever. We are not against further research, but not to the detriment of the putting the system into operation. After all, in order to be able to continue our research after the completion of construction of the project, we are currently building, together with the Hungarian side, a monitoring system based on the identical principle.

[Rabay] After the talks of CSSR and Hungarian deputy premiers in Bratislava last September, our side announced an alternative solution—in case the Hungarian stance were to be intransigent—which would make it possible to utilize the Gabcikovo hydroproject without the projects on Hungarian territory. Are you still contemplating this solution?

[Lokvenc] According to our calculations, the damage caused by postponement of the operation of the Gabcikovo hydroproject by only 1 year would amount to about Kcs2 billion. But in any event it would result in both our countries losing far too great values (according to the 1977 agreement, 50 percent of the Gabcikovo hydroproject is Hungarian property). Therefore, our duty is to figure out how to reduce those losses. The alternative solution has been designed in such a way as to ensurethe economic objectives, at least partly, and, at the same time, to take into condideration all protective and ecological requirements and comply with all legal norms and obligations. It is possible that its realization will complicate relations with our southern neigbor, but ultimately it will also reduce his losses. I am convinced that the Hungarian partners will reassess their present position, although not immediately, and come to the conclusion that they need the contribution which only the utilization of the system can yield. I think that even after the realization of the alternative solution our party will be willing to return to the realization of the original project.

[Rabay] Under what condition, then, will the CSSR employ the alternative solution?

[Lokvenc] When we have exhausted every last chance of coming to a sensible agreement with our Hungarian partner. Unfortunately, and this is my personal opinion, judging by experience to date, we will have to start work on the alternative solution after 31 October this year.

Grosz, Marothy Interviewed on MSZMP Congress

AU1010112089 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Oct 89 pp 1,4

[Vojtech Vesely, Stefan Nemeth, Gejza Vilcek Budapest dispatch: "Hungarian Socialist Workers Party in Hungary Abolished: A Contradictory Discussion at the Congress in Budapest"]

[Excerpt] Budapest (from our correspondents)—[passage omitted]

With K. Grosz and L. Marothy

Saturday [7 October] afternoon, on the second day of the Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], a few hours prior to the founding of the Hungarian Socialist Party when the decision to change the party's character was still only in the making, we asked two representatives of the previous leadership for an interview in the congress center.

Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, expressed dissatisfaction with the course of the deliberations, voiced reservations about their standard, and said that the discussion was not centering on political questions of substance but on problems of second-rate importance. "Emotional motives prevail. I regard as valuable the fact that the party is beginning to arrange its ranks. I have the impression, however, that last May's national party conference was being restaged. I did not want this to happen. Unfortunately, the platform with which I came out has not gained the support of the majority. Extremes are becoming apparent and some delegates want the split in the party to occur in the middle. As I stated in my report, it has been my endeavor to have the party emerge from the parliamentary elections as the strongest party, to put in order our relations with neighboring countries, and to head off an economic collapse."

Asked in which case he would regard the congress as successful, the last MSZMP general secretary said: "I would regard it as successful if, after its conclusion, the delegates would get up from their seats as members of a united left-wing, socialist, and international party—that would be genuine success. However, I would like to say one more thing, namely that I feel a lack of harmony between the mood among party members and the mood prevailing at the congress."

Asked about the attitude of the technical intelligentsia—whose voice at the congress we virtually did not hear, although it could play an important role in solving economic problems—Laszlo Marothy, member of the MSZMP Central Committee, who is minister of environmental protection and water management, said: "The Hungarian intelligentsia as a whole holds the view that changes are indispensable and that a new stage must begin. There exist differences in that one part of the intelligentsia would like to destroy everything and start

from scratch whereas the other part is more circumspect because it realizes that the exact program of renewal is not yet ready. I believe that the standpoints will become clearer during the discussion of the fourth point on the agenda."

Asked which conclusion of the congress he would regard as successful, L. Marothy said: "If the main and substantial points of the submitted program are adopted, if such draft statutes are approved as will galvanize party members into activity. The congress will be successful if the party does not break apart and if it gets a leadership representing all currents which seek progress."

SED Politburo Statement, Reform Calls Viewed

AU1710135989 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 16 Oct 89 p 2

[Peter Martinek commentary: "We Need Courage For A Dialogue; The GDR Is Looking For Ways To Eliminate Problems In Society"]

[Text] Last month alone, approximately 50,000, mainly young, people left the German Democratic Republic. This fact provokes a great deal of surprise among many people, and not only among those in the GDR. After all, this country is one of the 15 most advanced countries in the world and a relatively high productivity of labor sustains its stable economy, a productivity of labor that provides it with a 4 percent annual growth in national income. The country can boast many successful social programs. All in all, the inflationary process has affected the GDR least of all the socialist countries. The average salary of a worker or an employee, around M1,200 per month, guarantees a good standard of living in the GDR.

Now, society has begun completely and openly to pose the question: Where should one look for the reasons for part of the population losing its attraction to socialism? In the FRG, they have already worked out that every sixth person who departed for the West across Hungary owned their own home or a country cottage. However, those Germans who decided to make such a significant tear in their lives have made it absolutely clear that material issues do not play the most important role. For example, as far as acquiring an education or applying themselves in practice is concerned, at home they do not even see their prospects nebulously or uncertainly. Recently in its statement, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee Politburo stressed that the republic cannot be indifferent when its people leave it and do not want to unite their future to its future. It is true that voices have also been raised in the GDR which point out that something similar has already taken place when, a few years ago, the state permitted several thousand citizens to emigrate legally, part of whom quickly returned. At that time, working collectives gathered together and debated whether to put their trust in the returnees and accept them once more in their original workplace. Now, some people think that their fellow citizens in the West will soon realize their mistaken decision and will demand to return en masse. The statistics that record the legal or illegal method of departure for GDR citizens to the West, during the past decade, however, clearly confirm the growing trend. Since January of this year alone, around 110,000 people have departed from the GDR. In this situation, a wait-and- see attitude would only intensify the growing crisis. All the more so because these events have had a strong effect on many GDR citizens who, after 36 years, have taken to the streets, in crowds numbering tens of thousands, in Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden, and other cities and are demanding that some reforms be introduced in the country. It emanates from the SED Central Committee Politburo statement that the leadership realizes where the country's and its citizens' sore spot is when it talks about the necessity of improving the selection of goods available, just remuneration, improving the activity of the mass information and propaganda media, as well as about the opportunities for travelling and for improving the state of the environment. Kurt Hager, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, said in a radio speech that it is possible to curb the people's growing unrest only by the means of reform and by finding ways to increase democracy and to strengthen socialism. Kurt Hager, as the most significant ideological representative in the country, referred to the need for reform in the information media that is controlled by the state, which not always reliably or to its full extent depicts life in society, and he also called for greater openness in society and for the greater participation of the people in resolving the country's problems. Recently, the need for an open dialogue with all those who want to help rid the country of its years of accumulated problems has been mentioned in the official media. The youth daily, JUNGE WELT, also contributes to the atmosphere of openness. It pointed out that communists should not avoid discussions with church officials. The daily cited as a good example the recent gathering of several hundred SED members who held a meeting in St. Michael's Church in Leipzig with church representatives, believers, and affiliated groups and openly discussed the many problems burdening the people. There were few of those who liked to gloss over the facts and to conceal the differences between words and deeds. The open letter by Hermann Kant, member of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Writers' Association, which JUNGE WELT published a week ago, was written in this spirit. Among other things, he says in it that the GDR cannot regard the departure of its citizens as a victory and calls for the specification and elimination of the causes of the people's dissatisfaction.

Only a few people doubt that the Western media has not played a significant role with its campaign. However, it is not a vital role. Wolfgang Berghofer, the mayor of Dresden, a city where numerous demonstrations have recently taken place, said in the pages of JUNGE WELT that representatives of the church, young people with various weltanschauungs, and members of the political parties of the GDR National Front have already sat around the negotiating table. "We need courage for a

matter-of-fact and constructive dialogue," said the mayor and "no taboo exists for such an undertaking."

Vodrazka, FRG Official Discuss Cooperation

AU1610160089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Oct 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International relations" column]

[Text] In Prague on Friday [13 October] Ladislav Vodrazka, CSSR deputy premier in charge of the Federal Ministry of metallurgy, Engineering, and Electrotechnical Industry, held talks with Dieter von Wuerzen, state secretary in the FRG Ministry of Economics and chairman of the FRG part of the joint commission for economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the CSSR and the FRG. They assessed the present state of cooperation and discussed the possibilities of further developing cooperation in the manufacture of medical equipment and other engineering branches, cooperation in third markets in the sphere of investment engineering, establishment of joint ventures, as well as collaboration in the training of managers and commercial workers.

Finance Minister Outlines New Financial Measures

AU1110200889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Oct 89 p 2

[Pavel Paral report: "Unified Guidelines"]

[Text] Prague (From our own correspondent)—The CSSR Government's regulations on the financial management of state enterprises and some socialist organizations as well as the concept for creating conditions for the move to a single exchange rate and the convertibility of the koruna were the main topics of the regular news conference given after Thursday's [5 October] CSSR Government session. Jan Stejskal, CSSR finance minister, explained both points to journalists.

He said that the government, on the basis of powers contained in the law on state enterprise, has prepared unified and generally applicable guidelines for the financial management of enterprises. These guidelines establish scope for their independent decisionmaking on how to dispose of generated profits—after levies for the state budget and the obligatory contributions to funds have been collected. The guidelines for financial management contain three fundamental features. First and foremost, they fulfill the principle for the self-financing of each state enterprise and they guarantee direct ties between the state enterprise and the appropriate state budget minus the intervening elements which, until now, have, to a certain extent, redistributed the generated resources. At the same time, the increase in the enterprises' authority also heightens their financial responsibility toward the state budget and for their own development; but it also increases their responsibility for fulfilling their obligations toward their suppliers.

The government's regulations will not only concern the state enterprises, but will also concern foreign trade enterprises, joint stock companies, and other enterprises of the state economic organization type, with the exception of organizations from the agricultural and food complex that has already been managed along similar guidelines since the beginning of this year.

The government's regulations will make it possible to repeal some of the Ministry of Finance's decrees to date, for example, the decrees on financing fixed assets, on money in circulation, or on the development of science and technology. Decrees amending contractual relations between enterprises and the commercial banks will link with the government's regulations.

J. Stejskal later spoke about the concept for creating the conditions for the move to a single exchange rate and the convertibility of the Czechoslovak koruna. He pointed out that this does not only involve the creation of banking technical, financial, and pricing prerequisites. The fundamental prerequisite for achieving the convertibility of our currency is the convertibility of goods—this means making our products more competitive which will enable us to trade in prices which exceed our own costs. Therefore, convertibility is conditional on the substantial increase in the efficiency of our economy and the timetable for its introduction depends upon the progress of changes in the national economy.

The task of establishing conditions for integrating the commercial and non-commercial rate of exchange with the currencies of the non-socialist countries effective 1 January 1991, alternately no later than 1 January 1992, is also among the first specific measures. This case does not involve only administrative measures. While the commercial rate of exchange emanates from the level of our wholesale prices, the non-commercial rate of exchange is provided by the level of retail prices. Therefore, achieving a single rate of exchange is conditional on intensifying the, so far, insufficient ties between wholesale and retail prices. The program of concrete measures for introducing convertibility should be drafted before the end of next March.

Assembly Chamber Views Enterprise Law

AU1210165389

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 11 October on page 1 carries a 1,800-word Marie Koenigova report on the third meeting of the People's Chamber of the CSSR Federal Assembly, held in Prague on 10 October, which discussed "the implementation of the law on state enterprises and its impact on the fulfillment of national economic tasks." On the same day on page 2, RUDE PRAVO carries 2,800-word "excerpts" from the "report on the implementation of the law on state enterprises," which was delivered by Vladimir Vedra, chairman of the People's Chamber, and 2,400-word "excerpts" from the speech by Bohumil Urban, first CSSR deputy premier, who addressed the meeting "on behalf of the CSSR Government." On pages

2 and 3, RUDE PRAVO also publishes a 3,700-word account of discussion speeches made at the meeting.

In his speech, Vladimir Vedra discusses the results of a survey of the "effectiveness" of the law on state enterprises, which was conducted by deputies in state enterprises and other economic institutions. Speaking about the results and experiences from "organizational restructuring," Vedra says: "On the basis of the law on state enterprises, 2,246 state enterprises have been founded in the CSSR in a relatively short period of time. Along with the simultaneous abolition of general directorates, this has created prerequisites for the transition of the national economy toward two- tier management."

"The preparation for organizational changes in the production base was carried out responsibly. The fact cannot be concealed, however, that there were cases of individual plants having to 'wage battles' for the establishment of an independent enterprise and that, on the other hand, considerable pressure had been brought to bear on the preservation of large enterprises or even on their enlargement. There were also attempts at enforcing narrow group and local interests. Various economic justifications and organizational forms were also being sought that would permit the formation of supra-enterprise bodies. In the initial stage, in particular, the principles of the government resolution of 1988 laying down the principles and procedures for organizational restructuring were not fully respected." Vedra criticizes, in particular, the fact that "during the restructuring of the enterprise sphere, the founders did not make full use of the chance to eliminate the unwarranted high degree of monopolization in our economy, especially in engineering and the building industry, and did not establish sufficient prerequisites for essential future structural changes. The Government should bear these facts in mind and, if and where practice shows this to be appropriate, make the necessary adjustments."

Speaking about experience with individual novel elements of the enterprise law, Vedra says that "very different views" are being expressed about the election of enterprise directors. While small and medium-sized enterprises reportedly appreciate the chance to elect their directors, large enterprises have been "raising objections" to elections: "The most frequent reasons given are great demands on the organizational and administrative preparation of the elections, the rise in lost working hours and high financial costs connected with the whole election campaign, and superficial knowledge of candidates for the post of director." Vedra says that in some enterprises the elections had to be repeated (because the first round did not produce any clear majority), which "could have been avoided, given a more thorough political and cadre preparation of the elections." There have reportedly also been problems with "assigning jobs to candidates who had not been elected."

Responding to calls for an abolition of the provision on the election of enterprise directors Vedra says that "at present, we do not consider this to be necessary as only further practice will show, in our opinion, whether amending some stipulations is socially needed." He adds: "It is impossible to proceed in such a way that the relevant officials choose from the law only what suits them and demand that the more demanding parts of the law be amended. Such procedure would be neither new nor original. I think that it should be precisely the Federal Assembly deputies who must see to it that the law is applied to the full extent, as it was unanimously approved."

In the subsequent part of his speech, Vedra discusses the economic situation of the newly established state enterprises. He says that, although the capacity for self-financing was one of the basic requirements in setting up state enterprises, "many of them do not meet this requirement. In the department of metallurgy, engineering, and electrotechnical industry, for example, this is true of 13 percent of state enterprises." Vedra calls for the founders' greater assistance to these enterprises.

The chairman of the People's Chamber also refers to the negative impact of some of the reforms that have been carried out in the economic mechanism. The abolition in the economic code of the obligation to conclude contracts, for instance, has "greatly aggravated supplier-user relations." According to Vedra, "suppliers conclude economic contracts only when they have a surplus of products and when it is advantageous for them."

According to Vedra, another negative impact of the reform concerns the pursuit of short-term interests at the expense of research and development. He warns that if the "unwillingness of the enterprise sphere to finance advanced innovation projects continues," this could "jeopardize the basic solution of the long-term targets of scientific-technical progress."

As to the economic results of the new state enterprises, Vedra says that only one-third of them have operated for over a year and another one-third were established only 3 months ago. Moreover, two different systems of management coexist in the national economy at present. For all these reasons, the founding of state enterprises "could not make itself markedly felt in the fulfillment of the tasks of the state plan." Nonetheless, there exist "certain findings from the conduct of state enterprises," according to Vedra, which show that the newly established state enterprises surpass other enterprises in labor productivity growth, effectiveness of exports, and growth of profits. Next to these positive tendencies, he continues, there also exist negative phenomena "which aggravate the situation on the domestic market and are rightly criticized by citizens." In this connection, Vedra refers to the efforts of enterprises to produce only goods in higher price categories, to the disappearance of cheap standard-quality merchandise from the market, to price increases under the pretext of "negligible, fictitious, and for the consumer often utterly useless so-called innovations," to the winding down of unprofitable production lines without regard for the consumer, or to the export of

products which are scarce on the domestic market. Vedra expresses the hope that the Government will make use of all available incentives and sanctions to suppress such "anti-social conduct" of enterprises and assures it of the parliament's full support in this matter.

Bohumil Urban discusses the results of organizational restructuring and of the founding of state enterprises. He says that whereas in some branches (textile, clothing, and food industries) restructuring has resulted in the creation of a more competitive environment, in other branches (engineering, construction sector) the monopoly status of enterprises has not been significantly weakened. The organizational restructuring has also not succeeded in linking enterprises along vertical lines, into combines, which have the advantage of avoiding the problem of supplier-user relations, Urban says.

The deputy premier also comments on the criticism of the election of enterprise directors. He says that the elections had to be repeated in only 6 percent of enterprises and he also contests the view that the failure of a long-time director to become elected means that the election was "poorly prepared or that elections are unsuitable. Who knows whether we would have managed to change some of those long-time directors had there been no elections," he says.

In the remaining parts of his speech, Urban discusses the current work on various regulations and economic laws which are to be discussed and passed by the Federal Assembly later this year. He also criticizes enterprises for what he sees as their inadequate preparation for the introduction of self-financing next year.

During the meeting of the People's Chamber, Urban also replied to deputies' interpellations. These replies are included in Marie Koenigova's report on the proceedings. Asked about the income situation of state enterprises, Urban says that, according to an analysis carried out in 612 enterprises in the first half of 1989, the average rate of return [rentabilita] is 6 percent, 1.5 percent more than projected. He continues: "There are great variations, however, ranging between minus 18 and plus 34 percent. Some of these differences are caused by prices. In practical terms this means that one group of enterprises will be short of financial resources to the tune of approximately Kcs44 billion, while the other group of enterprises will have a surplus totalling Kcs98 billion." Replying to a question about the motivation of the work force in economic results, Urban says that incentives will be pegged to efficiency, rather than to the volume of production. The share of special compensations in the total volume of wages is to increase "to up to 10 percent" next year. Urban also reports that, in view of enterprises' criticism that the new wholesale prices "are directed against their targets and structural changes," another adjustment of wholesale prices will be carried out with effect from 1 January 1990.

Koenigova's report also summarizes the resolution adopted by the People's Chamber at the close of the meeting. The resolution notes that despite the brevity of the period since the law's coming into force, "its provisions are being gradually translated into life." However, because of the failure to establish "all conditions and prerequisites for the activity of state enterprises, their founding has not yet had any significant influence on the fulfillment of the state plan and its qualitative aspects in particular." The resolution also criticizes "some" founders of state enterprises for continuing to adhere to "administrative methods and approaches" and for showing insufficient interest in the solution of acute problems in the enterprise sphere.

Seminar on Joint Ventures Notes Shortcomings

AU1210171989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Oct 89 pp 1, 2

[Article by RUDE PRAVO correspondent Pavel Paral: "Exchange of Experience From Joint Ventures; Mutual Advantageousness Is of Decisive Importance"]

[Excerpts] Prague (Our correspondent)—The Secretariat of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee sponsored a seminar on the establishment and the activity of joint ventures with foreign capital participation in Prague on Monday [9 October]. Ivan Knotek, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, made the opening speech.

He said that the ongoing reform of the economy creates possibilities for the development of new forms of international cooperation. Joint ventures are one of them. Even though our foreign trade will in the future remain oriented toward the CEMA countries, while—obviously—purposefully striving to improve the existing cooperation, we also are interested in developing relations with the nonsocialist states. [passage omitted]

I. Knotek also spoke about the function of the foreign trade sector under the new conditions of international entrepreneurship. He said that one must not support monopolism of foreign trade enterprises; however, it is necessary to oppose speculations which emerge at times on part of the enterprise sphere. He stressed that we will not establish joint ventures to export raw materials or basic foodstuffs.

Jan Sterba, CSSR minister of foreign trade, summarized the activities of joint ventures to date. He said that 50 joint ventures have been established, of which 41 are discussing their foreign trade activities with the ministry. A total of 32 joint ventures have been established with companies from the nonsocialist countries, of which 11 are connected with tourism and spas, 7 are services-related, but only 4 are for industrial production and 2 in the construction sphere.

When establishing joint ventures, our organizations do not study thoroughly enough the reality of their plans and possibilities, nor the interests of their foreign partners. Shortcomings have also been cropping up regarding financing joint ventures. In tourism, for example, foreign

companies invested $8 million of foundation capital in joint ventures, but the requirement for credits to be guaranteed by the Czechoslovak Commercial Bank, is $750 million. In a situation like that, foreign investors are not much interested in the joint ventures' economic results and bear only minimum trading risk. [passage omitted]

Jaroslav Danhelka, director of the Transakta foreign trade enterprise, said that despite the adoption of the law on enterprises with foreign capital participation, [the necessary] climate for entrepreneurship still has not been created in our country. To begin with, price setting has not been clarified, and the protection of foreign capital must be finally resolved. Joint ventures are still in an unequal position vis-a-vis state enterprises.

In the closing part of the debate, CSSR First Deputy Premier Bohumil Urban noted that it is necessary to set up a special group which will gradually address the suggestions raised at the seminar and thus help to develop this form of international cooperation. He said that when it comes to the establishment of joint ventures, primary attention must be paid to industry. Of course, we have nothing against tourism, in the development of which we have considerable untapped potential. However, in the first instances of founding hotel ventures, we paid a sort of "tuition" for our experience. The important thing is not to repeat similar mistakes. [passage omitted]

Further Reports on 11-12 Oct CPCZ CC Plenum

Resolution Published

AU1610133889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Oct 89 p 1

["Resolution of the 15th Session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee"]

[Text] At its session held on 11 and 12 October 1989 the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee discussed the CPCZ's activity after the 14th session of the Central Committee and the party's tasks prior to the 18th CPCZ Congress, the draft of new CPCZ Statutes, and problems concerning the creation and protection of the environment.

The CPCZ Central Committee approves:

1. The Report of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the Party's Activity Since the 14th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee and its Tasks Prior to the 18th CPCZ Congress, delivered by Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee;

2. The Report of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on Party Policy in Creating and Protecting the Environment, delivered by Comrade Ivan Knotek, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee;

3. The draft of new CPCZ Statutes for a party-wide discussion;

4. The CPCZ Central Committee Resolution on the Creation and Protection of the Environment;

5. The Report on the Activity of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, Secretariat, and Commissions Since the 14th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee in June 1989.

The CPCZ Central Committee takes note of:

1. The political and organizational provisions for the holding of a party-wide discussion on the draft of new CPCZ Statutes;

2. The political and organizational provisions for the conclusions of the 15th session of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The CPCZ Central Committee charges the CPCZ Central Committee Commission for Amending the CPCZ Statutes with finalizing the draft of new CPCZ Statutes on the basis of suggestions and comments made at the 15th session of the CPCZ Central Committee.

News Conference Reported

AU1610132889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Oct 89 p 2

[Dalibor Macha report: "News Conference"]

[Text] Prague (from our correspondent) — A news conference for Czechoslovak and foreign journalists on the conclusions of the 15th session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee was held in Prague on Thursday [12 October]. It was addressed by officials of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At its outset, Vladimir Kozic, deputy head of the CPCZ Central Committee Political Organization Department, and Jaroslav Kanta, deputy head of the CPCZ Central Committee Socioeconomic Department, provided information on the party's work in the run-up to the 18th CPCZ Congress and on measures aimed at protecting the environment.

Replying to a question from the correspondent of Slovak PRAVDA, Vladimir Kozic characterized the future territorially based party organizations in the two republics as conceived in the draft of the new CPCZ Statutes. As far as the structure of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL], its Central Committee, and its other bodies is concerned, the existing state of affairs is to be retained. In the Czech Socialist Republic, republican bodies and organizations are to be formed, similarly to what is the case in Slovakia at present. As to the name of the republican organization in the Czech Socialist Republic, discussions on this are still going on. Both territorially based party bodies in the republics will have the same status, powers, rights, and duties. They will be constituted in the same way—at their congresses. This will

eliminate the existing asymmetry and introduce complete equality between territorially based party organizations and bodies in the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic.

The correspondent of the Yugoslav paper POLITIKA asked about Czechoslovakia's standpoint on a summit meeting of the socialist countries and whose plan it is to hold such a meeting.

The reply: A conference of the highest party representatives of CEMA member countries is to be held in Prague this year. Its point of gravity should lie in the assessment of economic cooperation. The CPCZ welcomes this idea. The question of the conference was discussed again during the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR in Berlin.

A question from the correspondent of the daily THE SUNDAY TIMES concerned data on the CPCZ membership base—whether the number of party members is growing or declining. He also inquired about the validity of the "Lessons" document.

The reply: The CPCZ has 1.7 million party members and candidate members at present. The number of party members is increasing. The lessons from the development in the years of crisis were, are, and will be valid. They were used as a point of departure in drawing up proposals for the new party statutes and the team which is working on the principles of the new CPCZ Program also relies on them. There is no reason for us to change anything regarding the Lessons.

The representative of the UPI agency asked about the area of party work in which Miloslav Dockal, the new secretary of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic, will be active.

The reply: M. Dockal will be in charge of ideological work in the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic.

The PAP correspondent inquired about the next Czechoslovak-Polish moves with respect to the coking plant at Stonava in North Moravia.

The reply: In building the coking plant, the CSSR is taking all conceivable measures to minimize the plant's negative impact on the environment. The appropriate measures were agreed upon by Polish and Czechoslovak experts during joint negotiations. By the end of October, Czechoslovakia will draw up the so-called ecological supplement to the whole matter.

The representative of Finnish Radio asked whether the problems concerning the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam project featured in the debate at the CPCZ Central Committee session.

The reply: The CPCZ Central Committee did not adopt a separate standpoint on this issue, because it is primarily a scientific and technical issue. The problems of the water barrage were dealt with in detail at the talks between the premiers of the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic, Ladislav Adamec and Miklos Nemeth, on Wednesday [11 October].

The correspondent of the paper THE SUNDAY TIMES objected to the absence of the post of a spokesman for the CPCZ Central Committee in Czechoslovakia and expressed interest in "facilitating meetings with members of the CPCZ Central Committee" for journalists.

The reply: The CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs has mediated a number of meetings between journalists accredited in Prague and our leading party representatives, including interviews with the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. The ministry's officials said that journalists can request such meetings at any time in the future.

State Planning Commission Head Addresses Session

LD0310020589 Prague CTK in English 1637 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Text] Prague Oct 2 (CTK)—Czechoslovak deputy premier and chairman of the state planning commission Jaromir Zak centred in his address at today's joint session of the Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak governments on the preparation of Czechoslovakia's 1990 state plan which is being worked out for the first time in the conditions of a new economic mechanism.

He underlined the need to orientate the plan on the further increase of economic development while strengthening the overall economic balance.

Assessing the economic development in 1989, the deputy premier stated that "in spite of certain positive features in the development of the economy this year—a more favourable dynamism of the national income, higher growth of personal consumption, better satisfaction of the demands for a number of kinds of industrial goods, stabilized food market, non-socialist states—serious shortcomings in the economy continue."

"Typical of these shortcomings is above all the continuation of the undemanding economic climate which makes it possible to continue the outdated structure of production and market," Zak said adding that this results among other things in considerable assets in socialist countries, extremely high stock, etc. Therefore the state plan will concentrate next year on preferential development of processing branches and stagnation of the basic raw-material branches of the industry. The share of investments in the used national income is to further decrease next year. As for external economic relations, Czechoslovakia will seek above all maintaining of its present foreign currency position in relations with non- socialist countries, Zak said.

Planning Commission Chairman Interviewed

LD1710094689 Prague Television Service in Czech 2020 GMT 16 Oct 89

["On a Topical Theme" program; interview with Federal Deputy Premier Jaromir Zak, chairman of the State Planning Commission, by editor Martin Svehla; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Svehla] The 15th session of the Party Central Committee stressed the need to create the material conditions for the new economic mechanism to operate. comrade Deputy Premier, this is directly associated with the preparation of the plan for next year and for the next 5-year period. Let's talk about 1990: how are the different industries and state enterprises approaching this task?

[Zak] As far as the approach of the enterprises is concerned, a large number of them have changed their approach, because they are well aware that from next year they will be operating under new economic conditions, and so they are trying to create conditions in advance to allow them to ensure the necessary development of the enterprise, and to generate adequate resources for social development and raising wages. On the other hand, of course, there is a whole series of enterprises which are behaving as if there will be no changes from 1 January next year, and as if the principle of financial autonomy will not be applied. The industries, as has been the case in previous years, are still making excessive demands for investment and for reductions in the volume of exports for convertible currencies, and on the other hand there are increased demands for more imports, for unjustified increases in the volume of wages, and so forth.

[Svehla] Comrade Jakes, general secretary of the Party Central Committee, addressing its 15th session, spoke about the need to formulate a program for restoring the balance in our economy. This is evidently a task which directly affects you, and which must be started quickly. Where, above all, is the imbalance in our economy?

[Zak] Economic balance exists when the demand of purchasing power, in other words the money supply, is equal to the effective supply of goods, labor, and services. When this purchasing power demand exceeds supply, then a whole series of problems arise. In a market economy, this disproportion or imbalance is resolved by rises in the price of goods, labor, and services. Thus an inflationary trend is created which gradually tends toward restoring the economic balance. In a regulated economy, where prices are set from the center, this imbalance shows itself through hidden inflationary pressures, pressure for concealed price rises—and we have our experience of this in all spheres—and above all through the creation of a deficit, shortages. This problem of imbalance affects not only the home market, but all sectors of the economy. Thus it affects the investment market, supplier-consumer relations—in other words relations between manufacturing enterprises, the supply of materials and equipment, and it also affects the sphere of external economic relations, and when there is a deficit or shortage, the this naturally causes a whole series of unfavorable problems for the economy. customers reduce their demands on suppliers, they are more tolerant, they are not so concerned about the high quality and technical standard of production, the suppliers often demand all kinds of premiums on top of the price, they push for price rises, and so forth, then we begin to see unjustified subjective preferential treatment in relations between enterprises. And as for the home market, then we see, as we know, signs of speculation, bribery, and a boom in the black economy in general.

[Svehla] The key question, of course, is what can be done about this. Can you illustrate what measures will be involved to balance out the economy?

[Zak] As far as the sphere of economic imbalance and the gradual restoration and consolidation of economic balance are concerned, there is, of course, a very wide range of measures of various kinds. If we take the investment sector, for example, the aim here is to ensure that we stabilize the volume of investment at the existing level, that we do not increase investment any further, so that we can concentrate building capacity on a smaller number of building projects and thus shorten construction schedules thereby making the whole investment process more efficient. On the other hand, if we take the sphere of external economic relations, we have to motivate our exporters who export goods to the convertible currency area, support their development by all kinds of different methods, and make sure that we really begin to phase out production of those goods which are exported at a loss, that we do not generate excessive trade surpluses abroad and thus restrict the use of those resources in the internal market. For example we must apply a system of export permits so that we do not see excessive exports of goods which are then in short supply on the home market and so on. As regards the internal market, we need to continue to implement a whole series of measures aimed at promoting a wider choice of consumer goods, but also labor and services. For example, we need to ensure that a proportion of the arms production facilities which have been phased out are converted to the production of consumer goods, we have to provide all kinds of different incentives for consumer goods manufacturers by means of tax concessions in respect of levies paid into the state budget. We want to create reserves in the state budget and state plans, for example reserves of convertible crowns but also a reserve of standard crowns for the purchase of modern technology for the production of consumer goods. We must encourage the establishment and development of small production businesses, small cooperatives and businesses managed by the national committees, we must create the legal and economic basis for the development of individual labor activity by our citizens, including making it possible for trades to flourish again, so we can have more apprentices but also auxiliary manpower, because there are not many jobs which can be done by a

single person—usually you need at least two, or even more. So we have to create the conditions to ensure that we can ensure the necessary machinery and equipment for them, and the supply of adequate materials—primary materials, semi-finished goods, spare parts, and so forth, and I personally think we must make it possible for these individual manufacturers, either in direct production or providers of services, to also form associations and thus ensure the development of that sphere in an organized way.

I think we must make leasing of premises possible, especially in the services sector, on a much wider basis. We are in the paradoxical situation that in some cases we have the manpower and all kinds of service facilities not only catering facilities, while the enterprises themselves are poor, and often operating at a loss. There is no logical explanation for such a situation, and we need to act more resolutely in this respect regardless of the wishes of those who work in that sector.

[Svehla] It will be apparently necessary in the interest of the overall balance to draw from state budget resources. Do you consider this option?

[Zak] This is a complicated and sensitive question. As is known, at the last Central Committee session General Secretary Comrade Jakes reported measures, for instance, to reduce defense expenditure by 10 percent, which amounts to a sum in the order of billions as far as a reduction of the state budget expenditure is concerned. Of course, we have been cutting and shall continue to seek ways of cutting expenditure on state administration. The important thing, however is, and this is also in the spirit of the new economic mechanism, that we also reduce state budget expenditure on subsidies on capital investment. We shall of course subsidize a number of ventures, especially those that are socially beneficial, beneficial to the general public, to citizens. The fact, however, is that such subsidies were not always channeled to such ventures. At issue is a more marked reduction of subsidies of a noncapital investment nature. We are subsidizing lossmaking enterprises, plants that show little efficiency. We are subsidizing a whole number of enterprises in various areas and a whole number of activities, so that there is a great deal to be tackled in this area and there is a scope for us to do so. This is, of course, a question of a resolute attitude. We have agreed on more than one occasion that it was necessary to curb subsidies of a noncapital investment nature; we have agreed on it as a matter of principle but when we started to examine specific areas where curbs should be imposed we found that we were no longer speaking the same language and that not everyone was as principle-minded as when the questions were examined and when general decisions were taken.

What, however, is also very important is the question of the economic utilization of the sources released from the state budget for various purposes. Let us look for instance at public consumption where we have been increasing expenditure year by year, amounting to large sums in the order of billions and involving several percent, 3 to 4 percent and sometimes even more, and we shall continue to increase these expenditures, but what is important is how these resources are managed. We have a whole number of areas where we have been dragging our feet and which have been in their own way taboo for a long time.

[Svehla] Could you be specific, comrade vicepremier?

[Zak] Let us look, for instance, at the problem of housing management. Kcs 5.8 billion are spent annually in the current period from the state budget to cover losses from the managment of the housing stock. All right, but let us also look at the other side of the matter. Fifty percent of apartments are concentrated in family houses where the expenditure on running them is roughly three times greater than is rent in state-owned flats. Another roughly 20 percent of apartments are cooperatively owned, here there is an economic rent, while the remaining 30 percent is mostly communal and partly enterprise-owned ones where the rent here is to a large extent, as I said in the order of billions, subsidized.

Yes, we have to tackle such social cases as large families, pensioners, young married couples, but this must be done selectively. Let them have reduced rents, let them have low rents, but why subsidize everyone who was allocated a state-owned apartment through various circumstances?

We declare the principles of social justice. Let us look at whether this question is appropriate. Let us look, for instance, at the health service. We are spending this year roughly Kcs 7 billion on medicine, but are we managing it well? How much medicine do you find discarded in garbage bins and how much in cupboards at home? Or let us take instances when citizens themselves are contributing to damaging their own health. If someone is an alcoholic, why should the state pay for his cure? Why should he himself not contribute to least partially to curing this disease which is causing great damage to society? How many people are not adhering to the treatment prescribed them, thereby increasing the cost of treatment? Should not such people contribute in some way to repay the costs, which increased only because they are indisciplined?

Let us look at education. One university student costs annually roughly Kcs 50,000 and in a number of instances even more. How many instances do we have in which students have to resit their examinations a year later because of their failure to pass them? At the same time they are taking places of others who are more talented or more conscientious while the state pays expenditure to the full extent. I raise the question whether such students ought not to contribute at least partially to the repayment of such expenditure, if they have to retake examinations because they failed them. let us use the resources we have for the development of education, and let not the state take them back, for this

is not necessary. Let us use them for the development of the health service, education, and the like.

[Svehla] Looking into the future, Comrade Deputy Premier, what can we expect in the immediate term? Are we going to have to work harder for less money, or will we be better off?

[Zak] Look, I am an optimist. Every economy in the world has its problems and will continue to do so. We had them in the past, and they were considerable, and we will have them in the future too. that is my view, and the new economic mechanism will create the conditions for tackling them. Where people manage resources properly and work well and where the work results are good, whether they are ordinary workers, foremen, or managers, they will be better off, they will earn more, and they will have greater opportunities to satisfy their needs. On the other hand, where there is mismanagement, where they are working at a loss and wasting resources, then members of such work collectives must expect, under certain circumstances, to have to tighten their belts. But it is not our aim to make people tighten their belts; instead we want people to use the powers which they have now been given to the work collectives under economic restructuring. [passage omitted]

Slovak Party Discusses Environmental Protection

LD1610220189 Prague CTK in English 2028 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Bratislava Oct 16 (CTK)—The Slovak Communist Party Central Committee discussed at its session today a report on preparations for party conferences and for its congress, and a report of the party Central Committee Presidium on party policy in the creation and protection of the environment in Slovakia.

Delivering the party Presidium's report, Presidium member and Central Committee secretary Ondrej Saling said that within the framework of the state program of investments into ecological projects for the 8th five-year plan, more than 6,000 million crowns were earmarked for Slovakia alone on projects aimed at eliminating air and water pollution as well as the utilization and liquidation of waste. In spite of some results no basic turn in improving the atmosphere in Slovakia occurred.

Ondrej Saling stressed that the main task is to prevent the deterioration of the environment, while at the same time developing forces of production, and to improve it in such a way that ecological balance may be attained on most of the territory of Slovakia by the year 2000. This goal is not easy to reach but it is realistic and its fulfilment can no longer be put off, he said.

The session was also addressed by Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Slovak Communist Party first secretary Ignac Janak. Noting that socialist countries were experiencing a period of a critical assessment of successes, failures and mistakes, he said that "anti-communist forces began to abuse the problems and shortcomings which accumulated in the past for objective and subjective reasons and of which we speak openly, against us". Various anti-socialist forces, with an active contribution of western subversive centres, intend to form an opposition force, to reassess history in their own way and turn the restructuring process against socialism. Attempts appear to question the nationalities policy of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, to destabilize art unions and rid them of party and state influence. Insulting are attempts by reactionary emigres, concentrating on fomenting nationalism, expressed in the document "For Free Slovakia", being smuggled into Slovakia with the aim to revive clerico-fascism and to disrupt the coexistence of nations and nationalities living there, Ignac Janak said, adding that the primary duty is to protect and develop everything that has been achieved through the common effort of the nations and nationalities during the period of building socialism.

The Slovak Party Central Committee adopted a statement on the fundamental questions of policy of environmental protection in Slovakia, expressing full support for the conclusions of the 15th session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee held last week.

Hrivnak Says Slovak Economy Plan Unfulfilled

AU1710101289 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Oct 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Slovak Premier Pavel Hrivnak by Bratislava PRAVDA staff journalist Peter Sitanyi: "Finding One's Place Under the Sun"—place and date not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Sitanyi] The results of the economy of the SSR [Slovak Socialist Republic] to date suggest that the planned 4.2 - 4.5-percent annual increment in the national income will not be achieved....

[Hrivnak] That is correct. However, our government is attempting to get the organizations run by the SSR Government to come as close as possible to the targets of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. My opinion is that, with the exception of the construction and health sectors, we will more or less succeed in fulfilling the other planned indicators. [passage omitted]

Krenz Replaces Honecker as General Secretary

LD1810131889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1312 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The ninth session of the Central Committee elected Egon Krenz on Wednesday afternoon as the General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party [SED] of Germany Central Committee.

'Health Reasons' Cited

LD1810133589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1323 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The ninth session of the Central Committee elected Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, as general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee this afternoon. The Central Committee will propose to the GDR People's Chamber that Egon Krenz be elected chairman of the GDR State Council and the GDR National Defense Council.

Earlier The Central Committee granted Erich Honecker's request to release him from the office of General Secretary of the SED Central Committee, chairman of the GDR State Council, and chairman of the National Defense Council for health reasons

Fischer Cancels Participation in FRG Meeting

AU1810125789 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1200 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] GDR Foreign Minister Fischer has canceled his participation in the annual meeting of the New York Institute for East-West Security, which will take place in Frankfurt/Main tomorrow [19 October].

SED CC Meets; Politburo Session Continues

LD1810114689 Hamburg DPA in German 1121 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Excerpts] The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and the Politburo are meeting in East Berlin today. The Central Committee meeting was called because of developments in the GDR. It usually meets twice a year. It is not known whether the Central Committee will change the party leadership. The official GDR news agency, ADN, confirmed the Central Committee session, which was apparently arranged on short notice, in response to an inquiry around noon on Wednesday. [passage omitted]

In the meantime, it was learned in West Berlin that the Politburo has not ended its routine session which began on Tuesday. The session is continuing today. Just last week the Politburo held a meeting which was attended by Central Committee members and which, unusually, lasted 2 days.

First of Former GDR Citizens Leave Warsaw

LD1710212289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2028 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The first persons released from GDR state citizenship were flown out of Warsaw today. GDR Ambassador Juergen van Zwoll told the press that this was the implementation of a decision by the GDR Government, which had been agreed with the governments of the People's Republic of Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany. The GDR Government decided on this measure, Ambassador van Zwoll said, so that the problems of the GDR citizens who were on Warsaw territory and who had entered the FRG Embassy in order to leave for the FRG or a third country could be solved in a humanitarian manner. This is a temporary regulation.

Prosecutor Defends Police Actions at Protest

LD1710215389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1940 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR General Prosecuting Attorney Guenter Wendland gave the following interview this evening to "Aktuelle Kamera," the main news program of GDR television:

Question: Herr general prosecuting attorney, there is a certain disquiet in the country with regard to the police actions against presumed or actual demonstrators. In Gethsemane Church, the Church of the Redeemer, and in other places, eyewitness accounts have been read which say that such persons have been mistreated by the police. What do you know about this, and will you look into these reports?

Answer: I know about this. I have a simple and clear answer to it: Charges brought by citizens will be examined, in the light of the law, as they should be. We prosecuting attornies have this duty to the Constitution; it is a duty which we must perform. We will also make our decisions in accordance with the laws. I must say that this is always so, and it is naturally just as valid under these conditions. Let me add that, of course, we do not tolerate any slanders, neither of a citizen nor of a state body. This, too, is also a matter of law.

Question: The Office of General Prosecuting Attorney spoke again at the weekend about the numbers of—let me describe them as arrested persons, although perhaps you have objections to this description—the number of persons who were taken into custody. What can you say about the present situation?

Answer: I can only once again confirm the report issued at the weekend. There are indeed still 11 persons in custody, as we call it, who are strongly suspected of having committed acts of violence, in connection with public festivals to mark 7 October and other events. I expressly repeat once again that this also shows to what great extent we have used a differential approach with our measures.

Question: You confirmed it yourself: A considerable number of people were—I believe the right, the correct term is perhaps "taken in"—what is meant by being taken in and how does it differ from other measures utilized by the justice authorities or the police?

Answer: Well, first I will offer you one answer. Being taken in is a police measure and is permissible when disturbances to law and order take place. That is the jurist's view. That is the legal side. There was in fact an escalation of violence in some demonstrations. These are acts of violence of various types, when vehicles are damaged, overturned, or set on fire—and it was not merely police vehicles; when rowdies arm themselves with chains and iron bars, when paraffin-filled bottles are thrown, windows are smashed, and even objects from smashed window displays are stolen. Then the police have a duty to intervene. It is, after all, responsible for ensuring that excesses are halted.

In such cases, persons who have committed acts of violence are taken in against their will and opposition. To spell it out: The violence did not come from the police, the violence was directed against the police. After all, we have 106 injured policemen, some of them seriously. When persons are taken in from crowds—I must ask for your understanding, it is after all at night—then they may of course include innocent bystanders. We have done our utmost to ensure that such persons are not detained any longer than necessary. But I must also add what remains true and is an important aspect of our state under the rule of law: Violence and incitement to violence have no place in our society and will not be tolerated. Citizens have complained because they abhore violence and have no understanding for the destruction which has taken place. Don't you think these citizens are right too?

Question: Certainly. With reference to your impressive description of violence, what in individual cases is the social or even political background of such perpetrators of violence?

Answer: Perhaps I can first of all say what kind of people they are by giving some examples. Let's take Wolfgang Gerigk from Dresden. This is a man with 12 previous convictions, who has committed theft and fraud and who has lived in an anti-socialist manner. He himself said when being questioned during the interrogation by the state prosecutor that he has never been at liberty for longer than 4 months. Of course, criminals of this kind are truly the exception in our country, but they do exist and they exploit such situations.

In Leipzig, Holger Trotte--and, incidently, we have reported on this trial—was sentenced to 26 months. He was inciting violence and threw stones. I would also like to note here: On that day his foreman sent him away from his workplace because he was drunk. He carried on drinking and then he joined in the demonstration in his way. He has six previous convicitons.

If I can name another one in order to tell you what kind of persons they are and what motives they have, then I would mention Matthias Meinhold, who has no previous convictions. He is accused of setting a radio patrol car on fire with a bottle of gasoline and of having thrown two other bottles of gasoline at policemen, thus placing a large number of people in danger.

These are all very serious and very dangerous actions. He will appear before the court tomorrow. That's how they are, these people who use violence, to give you an example. Please understand me correctly: Certainly such persons are not to be equated with the majority of demonstrators. But for a time they actually determine the atmosphere and endanger uninvolved citizens, even those demonstrators who do not support violence and who do not have violence in mind. The use of the security organs prevents acts of violence, not only in Leipzig and Dresden but also in our capital.

Question: You yourself had some difficulty at the beginning with the legally, clearly defined concepts. You distinguished between taken in, detention, and arrest. What do these three categories say about our country as a state based on law and justice?.

Answer: First of all it is quite clearly a highly structured system of legal measures. I would like to begin my answer with the question of arrests. In our country arrests are possible only as a result of a court decision. No policeman, no state prosecutor can arrest anyone; arrests can only be carried out through a court decision. And it is of course also a system of multilayered responsibilities, whereby each person has a sphere of responsibility. But in the final analysis the court must decide.

When we take detentions, as we describe them, then the expression "caught in the act" is perhaps the most commonly used. It is also familiar from detective stories, it is of course a necessary measure. When a punishable offense has occured and the police have to intervene and apprehend the culprit immediately, then he is taken in, detained, and also questions. However, I want to stress that the police cannot question people for longer than 24 hours if an arrest warrant has not been issued.

Question: That means keeping in custody?

Answer: Twenty-four hours is the limit. There is no alternative; either an arrest warrant is issued by the court in that time or he must be released.

I have already talked about the matter of people being taken in. Other countries have different regulations. But I can state quite clearly that it is the shortest period that exists anywhere in law internationally.

Our country has very strict rules, especially with regard to maximum periods of detention, and the fact that it is exclusively the courts which determine arrests. This too is part of the state under the rule of law—the German Democratic Republic.

Leipzig Mayor Talks With Church Leaders

LD1710223389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2014 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Thorough reflection as to how talks that have begun can be continued without taboos was the aim of a meeting in Leipzig today. Chief Mayor Bernd Seidel and other council members exchanged views and ideas with representatives of several religious persuasions.

No problem, no issue should be excluded, said the mayor, who saw the opportunity to talk to each other as an attempt to find solutions and specific proposals. He is glad that the demonstrations in Leipzig town center on past Monday evenings took place without violence and clashes, thanks to the level-headedness of all those involved.

However, it is now time to conduct the dialogue on another level and to discuss, in a substantive way, the development of life in Leipzig and the country. This must result in finding ways and means, on a socialist foundation, which serve the joint aim of ensuring that people in the GDR feel at ease and at home.

Important subjects included the search for other venues for Monday's peace prayers, media reporting which is close to life and truthful, and the certainty of the law for non-violent demonstrators. This also includes the question of how the relationship between the state and church could be shaped. The chief mayor described the start made as a good and useful chance to overcome problems addressed at demonstrations and elsewhere.

The nearly 20 Christians who gratefully accepted a talk of this nature, including Prelate Guenter Hanisch (Roman Catholic Church), Pastor Gerhard Riedel (Evangelical-Methodist Church), Superintendent Johannes Richter (Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Saxony), and Pastor Hans-Juergen Sievers (Reformed Church), made it clear that an honest search for the reasons behind the massive expression of views on the streets of Leipzig is needed. A stand they often repeated was that the shifting of untreated problems from the streets to somewhere else would not help to find solutions, but only unequivocal acts would signify hope. Trust must be placed in arguments, not power and force.

Peasants Party Discusses Leadership Tasks

LD1710233589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1806 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Democratic Peasants Party of Germany [DBD] Party Executive Presidium today discussed the tasks of political leadership together with the chairmen of the area (Bezirk) associations and other party workers. The exchange of views was introduced with a briefing by Party Chairman Dr Guenther Maleuda on Erich Honecker's meeting with the chairmen of the friendly parties and the president of the National Council of the GDR National Front.

It is a matter of "bringing into play, with tangibly greater results for all citizens, everything that has been achieved and created in our country as a result, work by several generations," a communique says. The power of the workers and peasants with their democratic bodies, which is based on the alliance and trusting cooperation of all social forces, socialist property, the system of planned economy, and all the advantages of socialism, must be used more effectively and more efficiently.

The Presidium appealed to all members of the DBD to take part in the constructive exchange of ideas on basic questions of social development in the GDR in the spirit of a letter addressed to them by the party chairman, and in committed fashion, for the well-being of the people and the safeguarding of peace.

Numerous thoughts, suggestions, and criticisms from members of the DBD have been directed toward a more effective shaping of socialist democracy, the management and planning of the economy, and a common information and media policy. It is also a matter of organizing agricultural policy in the GDR, to which the DBD has repeatedly contributed with its own proposals.

"We are proposing new and important questions of the coming period for discussion in the 'Bauern-Echo.' They concern, for example, the autonomy of agricultural cooperatives (LPG), a reduction of administrative expenditure, deepening owner awareness of cooperative farmers, safeguarding the emerging generation, the consistent implementation of the performance principle, and thus also new questions of payment in agriculture."

The party has repeatedly submitted proposals for a decisive improvement in supplies of material and mechinery for agriculture and the foodstuffs industry, especially for supplies of spare parts. To ensure a high level of animal production, more effective industrial support including initial mechanization, rationalization, and the reconstruction and expansion of animal production installations is necessary. DBD proposals are directed not least toward better protecting the environment and a high quality of life in the villages.

In the communique, the DBD opposes all attempts by aggressive imperialist forces, especially in the FRG, "to brazenly interfere in the internal affairs of our GDR."

The hope is expressed that the members will, with the implementation of the decisions of the 12th DBD Congress, help master the far-reaching process of political, economic, social, and cultural changes, and make the country still more attractive for all citizens. Here it is a case of clarity and vigorous support for the basic values and peace-ensuring function of socialism, which is not negotiable.

"On the path to success, nothing else can endure other than a decisive approach to the tasks facing us, including preserving what has proven itself, and overcoming what hinders us." The Presidium reaffirmed that the DBD will continue to be a reliable partner in the socialist

alliance of parties, in the democratic bloc, and in the National Front, and will help prepare for the 12th Socialist Unity Party of Germany Congress through its contributions.

Dresden Mayor Denies Talks With 'New Forum'

LD1810090589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0427 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The second set of talks at the town hall with Dresden Citizens and church representatives on Monday evening confirmed the necessity and value of an open and sincere dialogue, Dresden Mayor Wolfgang Berghofer, said. In a talk published in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND today, he refers to the joint positions for the exchange of views: Violence is not a means of resolving social conflicts and problems.

"My partners in the dialogue," Berghofer said "Do not consider themselves to be a delegation from the 'New Forum.' Western media reports that the recognition of 'New Forum' was and remains the true reason for our meeting, are quite false. The questions raised by the citizens are directed, they themselves say, toward improvement of life within socialism in the GDR, which is their home and will remain their home."

It was made unquivocally clear, Wolfgang Berghofer said "that my partners in the dialogue do not see themselves as an opposition. They want to make a constructive contribution to solving the problems which have arisen, since the process which has been set in motion has given rise to an attitude of considerable expectation among many citizens."

A broad spectrum of questions was raised in the town hall talks, from law and security, media policy, the structures of civic responsibility, travel, and emigration matters, ecological and economic questions, to education and culture, urban development, trade and supplies.

In this connection, the Mayors refers to his proposals to the assembly of city councillors, of forming working groups on the various sets of topics, and of informing the Dresden citizens at regular intervals of the work being carried out, the concrete results achieved, and the drafting of resolutions.

"It became quite obvious how much sympathy there is with the development of the dialogue: many thousands were waiting outside the town hall for information on our meeting; they are impatient and seek answers which the mayor alone cannot provide," Wolfgang Berghofer continued. "It would be a complete illusion to believe that everything can be settled on all sides after just a few hours of talks. It requires thorough consideration and also time to set truly fundamental things in motion. Everything other than local political problems and questions—and this is a great deal—would be handed over without delay to the appropriate higher leadership for decision."

"We are drawing closer together," Wolfgang Berghofer confirmed. "What we need is political common sense, joint thought and action, and constructive solutions."

Mueckenberger Says Politburo Statement 'Reliable'

AU1810111989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Oct 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Lecture at Party College"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Thursday [12 October] Erich Mueckenberger, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, gave a lecture to teachers and students at the "Karl Marx" Party College attached to the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. He stressed that the 40 years of successful development of socialism in the GDR include the unity of the workers class, its reliable alliance with all other classes and strata of the people, as well as the fraternal affinity with the party of Lenin and the people of the Soviet Union.

The statement of the SED Central Committee Politburo of 11 October on topical questions provides the party and the entire people with a clear, reliable guideline for the further successful shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR, Erich Mueckenberger said. The strengthening of the party's militant strength is a decisive precondition for the development of socialism in the dialectic of continuity and renewal, in particular under the conditions of the currently escalated class struggle and in view of the questions that have newly emerged.

Gerlach Says Party 'Has No Monopoly on Truth'

AU1710170189 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 13 Oct 89 p 3

[Speech by LDPD Chairman Manfred Gerlach at a festive event with meritorious LDPD deputies and state functionaries in Berlin on 12 October: "Paving the Way for Progress"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The pledge to socialism and to the historic chance linked with it to implement liberty, equality, and fraternity, would be questionable if it were not supported by the insight that with the 1917 October Revolution the "historical initiative"—to quote Hans Loch—was transferred to the workers class and the revolutionary workers movement and that, therefore the "historical reason"—another term coined by Hans Loch—commands to establish the policy of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] from the very beginning as alliance policy. Both things are, by the way, also set down in the GDR's Constitution. Recently there have been voices who say that one thing excludes the other. In reality, it is a question of how the leading role of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the state power is exercised in the shaping of socialism in our country. This is a problem and a field of tasks, which sometimes is described as the "perfection of socialist

democracy," a formula, which, according to the LDPD's experience, does not live up to the necessary dynamism of democratic renewal; what would be the use of perfecting inadequate things?

History proves that no party in socialism has a monopoly on political truth just because of its existence and its work. Mikhail Gorbachev stated this most clearly as regards the CPSU's understanding of itself. Political truth, that is, policy, which arises from a democratic process of formation of will and decision-making and which then becomes the concern of all, can only come out of the efforts of all. Public matters (and what is not a public matter in socialism?) need a democratic dialogue of all social forces. It is certainly not a question of having bourgeois-parliamentary shadowboxing take place in the media as a substitute, but of exchanging views, of providing competent action, knowledge, and weighing of interests, and also of supervising those who are responsible. Thus, it is a question of communication as a part of human, political, that is, socialist culture. Of course, the citizens' movements also have to be integrated, which, without being organized in a party or so far being active in the National Front, want to participate in the dialogue in a democratic way and in accordance with the Constitution. We distinguish between citizens who publicly criticize the government's policy or reject it or at least want to have it modified and enemies of the worker-peasant state. The first have to be integrated in public discussions, the others have to be shown their bounds—with the necessary means! Otherwise it is not possible to tap the strengths of people in such a comprehensive way or to make them effective as necessary. Let us beware of mere "chains of words," of that "entanglement of words, which ... gradually replaces the real conditions," which profoundly shocks not only Christa Wolf and which are made up and used by ourselves all too often.

"Historical initiative," another of the experiences of the common path since 1949, has a lot to do with actions in the sense of showing the path. The policy of renewal in the Soviet Union is aimed—at least in the view of us Liberal Democrats—at regaining that "historical elan," the loss of which threatens to deprive the workers class of the "historical initiative."

Policy is more than the preservation of power, no matter how fundamental this is! I repeat what we have already repeatedly stated: We do not need a "roundtable," in our country; for almost 45 years we have had a "table," at which the founding of the state of the workers and their allies was discussed in autumn 1949—the Democratic Bloc. In the past it often was the site of trusting discussions, frank words, critical stocktaking, and joint decisions.

If we speak of continuity and renewal—and who does not speak of this—the LDPD categorically refers to the continuity of the fruitful policy of the bloc, which, because of its nature, cannot be anything else by a policy of renewal. Therefore, the LDPD would prefer to discuss proposals and ideas here —that is, in the bloc—which the Central Executive Committee, based on the rich experiences and competence of many party colleagues, will present with the goal of helping to solve long emerged problems and contradictions. [passage omitted]

Some events, some headlines, some expressions of applause are reasons for me to again state on behalf of the LDPD: The German Reich is a thing of the past, not because it was German but because its rulers, whom the GDR people have relegated to history, destroyed it for their egotistical class goals. We will win the "European future" in peace, cooperation, and mutual solidarity for the two German states and for all peoples of the continent all the sooner the more honestly, the more convincingly, and the more verifiably the FRG takes its leave of the "dreams of the Reich," which include the GDR and are based on the revision of the borders of Europe and recognizes the realities without if's and but's. There is no "German question." There are problems in the FRG. They are their business. What we are talking about today are our problems and our tasks.

There is no doubt, dear party colleagues, that socialism cannot be shaped without historical continuity as regards basic things and without permanent revolutionary renewal. But what is renewal today? With the seriousness and the awareness of the responsibility, which guided us already 40 years ago, let me say for the policy of the LDPD in the present:

We are categorically in favor of breaking up social and political encrustations, relegating outdated things to history—not only verbally but in fact—making unavoidable decisions immediately and jointly in the alliance, and making decisions that are based on a perspective of reality and trust in the citizen. No one should counter the necessity of such steps anymore by saying that after all, there was the land reform or the antifascist-democratic restructuring of the school sector or the establishment of the combines. These were fundamental matters for the GDR, but they are history. Making them appear as renewal today frustrates the young generations because this gives rise to the practically paralyzing association that they only have to complete what the founding fathers outlined in a way that cannot be corrected. Let us Liberal Democrats of the first and second generation be self-critical; let us beware of using experiences in such a way that the third and fourth generation cannot consider it anything else but a burden, which suffocates its creative forces, its political intelligence, and its will for shaping democracy. The past, which can be found in these experiences, must not become overwhelming, because it makes young Liberal Democrats feel powerless.

We are in favor of implementing the meaning of socialism. For this purpose we need a critical checking of the way of functioning and the limits of functioning of the economic, social, political, and moral motive forces, in order to pave the way for the performance principle. We feel more and more clearly that obstacles to the

development of individuality and creativity, which now seem to be unsurmountable, have to be broken down and removed if this principle is to be enforced. Adjustment and hypocrisy, sometimes disguised as preservation of tested things and as loyalty to decisions, have a counterproductive effect; it is they, above all, which give rise to the renunciation of dedicated work and thus of performance, to withdrawal to one's private life, isolation, and, finally, a departure—regardless in which way—from the GDR.

Every citizen has to be given the feeling that he is needed, it is sometimes said and written. It is not a matter of feelings. It is much more a matter of political ethics, of the rights of the citizens, and of the certainty that ethical behavior pays off and that rights can be exercised in the way demanded by the Constitution. It has long been known that all this is indispensable as a precondition for a vivid social life, for progress, and for realizing all that which constitutes the meaning of socialism. The LDPD acts accordingly, when it raises its voice again here today.

We do this all the more candidly because our attitude and our words and our deeds correspond to each other. Since its founding and since it started to bear responsibility for this country, the LDPD has been like this. The curriculum vitae of every Liberal Democrat who is here in this hall, proves this. Our dedicated work and our ideas are also authentically demonstrated by the balance sheet we drew up on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR and which was presented to the public by every bezirk association, every kreis association, and almost every basic unit. Those who note all this without bias know: The GDR is our fatherland!

Stolpe Sees Need To Control Impatience

AU1710175289 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 13 Oct 89 p 3

[Interview with Manfred Stolpe, president of the Consistory and deputy chairman of the Conference of Evangelical Church Leaderships in the GDR by Helmut Lueck: "The Citizen Must Feel That He Is Trusted"; place not given, on 12 October]

[Text] Lueck: The state and the Church are dealing with the same people, their welfare, their dignity, their free development. This gives rise to the concern of a church in socialism to answer questions that move its members as citizens. Recently there have been rather contradictory political recommendations by church leaders. What do you think has to be done now as a priority?

Stolpe: The synods of the Evangelical Churches are an indicator of the mood in the country. It would not have been a mistake to judge them less by how close their formulations were to the dominating line over the past years but by their dealing with the justified concerns of the people.

The contradictory views reflect the contradictions in the country. There are many questions about our condition at present and about our future path. Different positions can be seen and they have to be discussed. Unusual things must not be condemned, but they have to be dealt with, argued about. Because we need public arguments. The Politburo decision of 11 October is an "important lead-in" for this. I also understand it in the spirit of the urgent requests made by Bishop Forck on 9 October in Gethsemane Church:

"We urgently ask all citizens to exercise freedom of opinion without any fear as of now so that a dialogue about our future is started.

"We urgently ask the GDR state leadership to immediately introduce clear and credible steps so that a comprehensive agreement for a democratic and constitutional socialist prospect in the GDR can be found."

By the way, we are standing at a critical moment. The GDR is moving. There is the great chance to further shape the country by means of a joint consensus. That means, at the same time, the urgent request to control impatience at present. Whoever beats the drum loudly now, risks impatience on the streets and in the factories, and endangers the continuation of the positive development that has commenced now.

Lueck: Dialogue is the only possibility to solve problems among the peoples. In view of some illusions and unrealistic demands, a sensible policy between the two German states has been called for. What are the elements of a responsible Germany policy, which are conducive to a European peace order, in your view?

Stolpe: First of all, the FRG has to stop patronizing the GDR: The demands for "reform" by means of offers of money are felt to be a threat, and make intra-German talks more difficult. But it is these talks that are necessary; in particular a strategic plan for the future coexistence of the Germans in two states in a cooperating Europe without tensions is overdue. Today there is a contradiction between the principles that have been transferred from the time of the cold war with its image of others as an enemy and everyday pragmatism. This became particularly evident this summer. The Basic Treaty between the German states has to be Europeanized and made more concrete in a way that promotes peace.

However, in addition to basic plans, quick steps are to be agreed on for the FRG Government's promotion of the new GDR measures for better supplies to the population, to improve environmental conditions, and to expand tourist traffic. The FRG Government can show whether it is serious about its big announcements and whether it is able to make decisions that are materially founded, humane, and conducive to detente. A convincing example could perhaps be the establishment of a intra-German fund for travel expenses, which is set up in line with the tested models in the economic area. One should at least think about this.

Lueck: In view of the mass exodus, church appeals to stay are of little effect. Looking for the fault mainly among "the others" does not help. What has to be done in your view to stop this development, which is doing utmost damage to us?

Stolpe: Basically, staying in the GDR is a decision out of motivation and integration. The society and also the churches will have to bind all people—not by means of walls and force, but in an overall social climate, which takes everyone seriously as a partner, guarantees him the development of his rights and his participation in guiding the social development. The citizen must be able to feel that he can participate in shaping the political, economic, social, and cultural life comprehensively. By the way, this has been convincingly set down in Sections 19 and 21 of our Constitution.

The citizen must feel that he is trusted. Psychologically, the passport plays a big role. A passport, which makes a special exit visa unnecessary, can certainly not be already introduced by tomorrow morning. But the existing travel regulations should be immediately changed to the effect that it is no longer necessary to prove that one has relatives in the West or that one wants to attend a special event and that the presentation of an invitation is sufficient.

One must not underestimate the material differences between the GDR and the FRG. I am convinced that for many people they play a big role in their decision to leave the country permanently. Therefore, a more efficient economic system has to be intensively striven for, a system in which everyone gets good money for good performances.

Lueck: The shaping of our society, the attractiveness of socialism, essentially depends on the further development of democracy and the development of our laws. Which priority tasks do you see in this respect?

Stolpe: The shaping of our coexistence was organized during the first decades of the GDR under the necessity of defense and the situation of confrontation between East and West. We were forced to deal with the rights and democracy in an administrative way corresponding to war communism. By September 1987 at the latest, when the State Council chairman visited Bonn, a new situation had emerged. It is visible for all and has become abundantly clear that the GDR is a full member in an open Europe without tensions. This must have an effect on domestic policy. It forces a qualitatively new application of socialist law and socialist democracy. In detail, this means to correspond to the human dimension of the European peace process and to take into account more strongly the role of the individual, his views, and his intentions. For instance, it will be necessary soon to implement Section 22 of our Constitution about the elections in the spirit of Section 25b of the International Convention on Civilian and Political Rights. This convention says that the citizen has to have the right and the opportunity to freely vote at real elections in a secret ballot.

It is my conviction that the law is the only possible system to regulate a reliable coexistence of free citizens. First of all, legal security has to be further consolidated. For this purpose, the role of the courts and lawyers has to be further stabilized. It should also be examined to which extent existing laws and regulations still correspond to a modern socialist system, in which the rights of the citizens are looked for in a liberal balance between his individual expectations and the really compulsive requirements of the community.

Potsdam Officially Tolerates 'New Forum'

LD1710181389 Hamburg DPA in German 1715 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The citizens' opposition initiative, "New Forum," has been, according to its own information, officially "tolerated" for the first time in a GDR city. Co-initiators of the "New Forum" said today in Potsdam that this was the result of a talk the day before. Taking part in the talk, alongside "Forum" representatives, were church people, the chief mayor, and representatives of state organizations.

The talk took place at the initiative of Heinz Vietze, first secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany District (Kreis) Executive. Efforts toward a "legalization" of "New Forum" are being continued in the area (Bezirk) capital. The dialogue was prompted by the good experiences made at a church event to introduce "New Forum" in Potsdam.

"New Forum" now has over 30,000 members. In East Berlin, Halle, and a few other cities, initiators and sympathizers of the citizens' movement are still being taken in for questioning. This has, for example, happened to numerous visitors to the artist and co-founder of "New Forum," Baerbel Bohley, it was reported today. A young man who left her apartment was questioned at the Berlin-Mitte police station for 9 hours.

Five opposition groups in East Berlin have repeated their demand that political prisoners should be released and that pending trials should be cancelled. They also call for the release of a number of policemen on standby duty who were imprisoned for "refusing to obey orders." The latter refused to take action against demonstrators in East Berlin and Leipzig.

The groups conveyed these and other demands in a talk with East Berlin church representatives. If these demands are not met then these groups, including "Democracy Now," the newly founded social-democratic party, SDP, and "New Forum" will not meet East Berlin's Chief Mayor Erhard Krack.

Experts Say Economic Reform Proposals Near

LD1710134589 Hamburg DPA in German 1217 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Malente (DPA)—Experts from the GDR think that its economic system must inevitably be changed. Professor Max Schmidt, director of the GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics, called for a change of the wage system, speaking at the Draeger symposium in Malente (Ostolstein district) on Tuesday. "Egalitarianism must be abolished," Schmidt told journalists. There must be public discussion of how achievement should be recognized in the future.

Professor Juergen Nitz from the same institute stressed that trade, cooperation, and technology transfer with the West presuppose reforms "for this or that CEMA country" but also for the GDR. He proposed a "conversion" of arms expenditure into East-West trade.

Schmidt protested against people transposing the present developments in Poland and Hungary to the GDR. The GDR is not considering adopting the Western system of values. A course specifically for the GDR must be found. The expert, who described himself as an "ardent admirer of Gorbachev," announced that in the next few weeks there would be an offer of economic changes in the GDR. Society cannot develop without restructuring. For example, rents and energy prices cannot be subsidized as hitherto. At present, the GDR, according to Schmidt, is using 60 billion marks of its budget to keep basic prices for consumers stable. In spite of all the changes, however, Schmidt cannot imagine an economy without planning and consideration of social issues.

The emigration of young people from the GDR led to considerable production problems, particularly in the southern regions of the country, Schmidt said. But he thought that many former GDR citizens will return. Half of the problems at the moment consist in not being able to talk about difficulties.

Polish Industry Minister Tadeusz Syryjczyk, speaking in Malente, described the reforms needed in his country: unprofitable public enterprises must be privatized. Shares could be given to employees or even to foreigners. Syryjczyk pointed to the special importance of a hard currency: "If the Zloty is not freely convertible within a year, then our reforms have failed." As a distant final goal, which would be brought about by the end of the century at the earliest, Professor Ivan Ivanov, deputy chairman of the Foreign Economic Commission of USSR Council of Ministers, mentioned the convertibility of the ruble. Soviet factories must first be prepared for competition on world markets.

Speaker Szuros Meets Leaders in Sub-Carpathia

LD1410185889 Budapest MTI in English 1806 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Uzhgorod, October 14 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, speaker of the Hungarian National Assembly, arrived in Sub-Carpathia on Saturday. In Uzhgorod, Mr Szuros met with party and state leaders in the headquarters of the Ukrainian Communist Party's Sub-Carpathian territorial party committee. He informed his hosts on the changes taking place in Hungary, and said: Hungary is interested in the success of Gorbachev's policy, and strives for a relationship of confidence with the Soviet Union, even if Hungary's internal life is undergoing changes.

Discussing the situation of minorities, Mr Szuros said that the handling of fundamental human, national and minority rights has taken on an international character by today. He designated as a basic task of the nations to ensure the individual and collective rights of the minorities. What is taking place here, said Mr Szuros referring to the Hungarians living in Sub-Carpathia, is important, and is due to the renewing policy of the Soviet Union and the efforts of the Hungarians. The conditions here have recently become more favourable to foster ethnographical traditions, the language and history, and we sincerely welcome this, Mr Szuros said.

In the following, the speaker of parliament visited the Hungarian Sciences Centre of Uzhgorod. [as received] The institution, to be inaugurated in mid-November, aims at providing assistance to the development of Hungarian culture.

Italian CP Leader Arrives for Budapest Visit

LD1610000289 Budapest MTI in English 2113 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 15 (MTI)—Achille Occhetto, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party (PCI), and Giorgio Napolitano, member of the PCI national board, arrived in Hungary on a brief visit on Sunday at the invitation of the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] Presidium.

Nyers Talks With Occhetto

LD1610130189 Budapest MTI in English 1108 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 16 (MTI)—Achille Occhetto, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party [ICP], who arrived in Budapest on Sunday evening at the invitation of the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] Presidium, met Rezso Nyers, president of the HSP, on Monday morning. At the meeting, Rezso Nyers is to give a briefing on the circumsances and manifesto of the new Hungarian left-wing party, and exchange views on interparty relations and international questions of mutual concern.

In the course of previous debate the HSP leaders mentioned the ICP as one of the organizations whose policy and structure shows many similarities with the Hungarian party.

Occhetto Holds Talks, Departs

LD1610215789 Budapest MTI in English 2000 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 16 (MTI)—Relations between the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) and the Italian Communist Party (ICP) were the main topic of Monday's discussions between Rezso Nyers, president of the HSP, and Achille Occhetto, general secretary of the ICP.

Following the discussions, which were also attended by Giorgio Napolitano, member of ICP's leadership, Istvan Degen, head of the party president's office, said that the Italian guests expressed their appreciation of the qualitative changes that had taken place at the HSP Congress. The sides were in agreement that democracy is not the tool for building socialism, but the way to the unfolding of socialist values.

The sides also spoke about the new interpretation of the socialist concept. In Mr Nyers' view, the whole theory of socialism should be reconsidered through free, scientific exchanges, rather than through decrees.

The two parties had advanced towards each other, but each of them preserves its autonomy, advocating the unity of the European left, it was emphasized. The left should keep its doors open to every progressive force. Both parties hold the relation between the state and market to be of primary immportance in their policy.

An agreement was also reached on the first concrete form of inter-party cooperation: Representatives of the HSP and ICP will be holding two-way consultations in the future on the main issues of inter-party relations and world politics.

Signor Occhetto told MTI's correspondent that the two parties had been able to come closer because of the changes instituted by the HSP, and not only the change in its name.

Concerning the European left, Signor Occhetto was of the opinion that the causes that led to former rift in the movement have now been overcome. The European left is now faced with new challenges.

In the course of the day, Signori Occhetto and Napolitano were received by Imre Pozsgay, minister of state, and Gyula Horn, foreign minister.

The Italian guests left Budapest on Monday evening.

ANSA Reports Visit

AU1710130489 Rome ANSA in English 1034 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] (ANSA) Budapest, Oct 17—The Italian Communist Party and the new Hungarian Socialist Party had a "total identity of vision," Italian Communist Party Secretary Achille Occhetto said at the end of talks here Monday with Socialist Party Chairman Rezso Nyers.

After an "extremely important and mutually satisfying" meeting with the leader of the new party created last week when the old Socialist Workers' Party renounced its Communist past, Occhetto said: "For some time now, the Italian Communist Party has abandoned wholly obsolete and sometimes mistaken positions such as the dictatorship of the proletariat, a rigid Marxist-Leninist ideology, embracing pluralism and the concept of democratic opposition."

Occhetto also announced that a study group would be set up between the two parties, with the aim of mapping out the prospects for relations between the various forces on the European left, at all levels, both within single market Europe and in the other Europe, with special attention being given to the problems of mutual security.

At the end of his visit to the Hungarian capital, Occhetto also met, in parliament, with State Minister Imre Pozsgay, who afterwards declared that the political and theoretical positions of the Italian Communist Party had been of fundamental assistance to the new direction in Hungarian political life which the creation of the new socialist party marked.

Nemeth, Austrian Chancellor Open Talks in Balf

LD1210132789 Budapest MTI in English 1303 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 12 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth met Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky in the village of Balf (near Sopron) on Thursday.

The discussions—which started at noon and will last for several hours—are expected to centre on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dam project, not forgetting the Vienna-Budapest world expo scheduled for 1995. Mr Nemeth will also put the chancellor in the picture about the reform process in Hungary.

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The hydroelectric dam project was the subject of Wednesday's talks between Miklos Nemeth and his Czechoslovak counterpart Ladislav Adamec.

Basically, the two sides are no further forward on the issue, with Czechoslovakia continuing to insist that the power plants go ahead according to the 1977 inter-state agreement.

The Hungarian prime minister put forth a compromise proposal, calling for reducing environmental hazards to a minimum. Under this version, the Nagymaros facility would not be set up, and the Gabcikovo plant only operated in low gear.

What did come out of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak talks was the arrangement for top party leaders to meet within two weeks, the two prime ministers will again take part, and the issue will once more be chewed over.

After their talks, Miklos Nemeth and Franz Vranitzky held a press conference.

Franz Vranitzky said he had received a detailed briefing on the manifesto of the new Hungarian Socialist Party, whose image of socialism he found close to that of the Austrian Socialist Party. They had therefore agreed on developing inter-party relations.

In the course of the talks, both sides confirmed the intention to hold the 1995 world expo, if the Paris negotiations in December bring a favourable decision, the chancellor said.

Speaking on the question of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage system, Herr Vranitzky pointed out that the abandoment of the project would influence the Austrian economy. As the two governments had already reached an agreement on the question in May, a compromise seems likely.

Mr Nemeth stressed that the relations between the two countries should not be basically determined by controversial issues, as it would be alien to Hungarian-Austrian relations. The question of the construction has not and will not disturb the development of relations. The Austrian chancellor said that as the Hungarian Government is to pass the final decision on the outcome of the project by the end of the month, all companies concerned will no longer be in uncertainty. The Hungarian Parliament is to take a vote on the future of the Nagymaros dam on October 31, and the decision will be the starting point for negotiations on compensation. The two governments wish to adhere to the May agreement, which says that the expenses of the equipment already installed and the labour will be paid in cash by the Hungarian side. This does not affect the deliveries of electricity as stipulated in the contract. Mr Nemeth said that the Austrian Government had been considerably more understanding about the suspension of the construction than the Czechoslovak side.

Discuss Relations

AU1310162189 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 13 Oct 89 p 1

[Text] Balf—The health resort of Balf, near Sopron, was the scene of an informal meeting between Hungarian Premier Miklos Nemeth and Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky.

In a news conference following the meeting, Nemeth said that the two heads of government had found a common denominator on all questions. Vranitzky stressed that Austro-Hungarian contacts are to be strengthened on the political level and on the level of the newly-founded Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] and the SPOe [Austrian Socialist Party].

The excellent atmosphere of the talks was not even affected by the topic of the Nagymaros power plant, which, according to a government proposal that still has to be adopted by the Hungarian Parliament, will not be constructed.

Vranitzky stressed that, concerning the Nagymaros power plant on the Danube, Austria feels a certain understanding for its neighbor Hungary, but that he had already made it clear in his last meeting with Nemeth in May that the money that has already been spent on this project must be refunded.

Vranitzky and Nemeth reiterated both countries' intention to go ahead with the joint project of organizing the 1995 world exposition in Vienna and Budapest. Nemeth emphasized that the Hungarian Government has decided in favor of the world exposition. As soon as Austria's and Hungary's application is accepted, one will have to intensify the joint preparations for organizing the 1995 world exposition.

The recent political developments in Hungary constituted the main topic of the talks. Nemeth said that, with the HSP, a new party has been established based on left-wing values and traditions. The new party has declared its fundamental support for socialist, social democratic, and certain reform-communist values. In accordance with this basis of values, the HSP will extend its contacts with the SPOe, and also with the Socialist International, Nemeth concluded.

Trade Minister Beck Holds Talks in Bonn

LD1210122889 Budapest MTI in English 1047 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 12, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—Hungarian Minister of Trade Tamas Beck met West German Minister of Economy Helmut Haussmann and Ministerial Secretary of State Otto Schlecht in Bonn on Wednesday.

Speaking to reporters afterwards, Mr Beck said that he had sensed an even greater willingness to support Hungary on the part of the West Germans, who in recent years, have never been slow in coming to the country's aid.

As to relations with the Euroepan coal and steel community, Mr Beck had urged that restrictions on Hungarian steel be lifted.

Minister Haussmann, at the same time, pointed to the West German firm of Korff and its investments in Hungary's Ozd iron and steel works as an example of how West German industry can help modernise Hungarian iron and steel production.

The West Germans promised both their own and EC support for Hungary in its efforts to end Hungary's status as a 'state-trading nation', and Bonn also supports Hungary's request for full preferential EC customs duty, a move which will be particularly important after 1992.

The two sides also discussed ways of overseeing the use of the 500 million DM loan offered by the two provinces of Baden-Wurttemberg and Bavaria to promote the development of the Hungarian exports and industry. The two sides are anxious that the best applicants be granted the loans through as simple a procedure as possible by using either the media or a competition.

The Hungarian minister said it would be an awful mistake to allow the above 500 million DM loan to go the way of the loan of 1 billion DM granted to the Grosz government, most of which was unaccounted for.

When pressed on this point he replied that the matter had not been discussed officially and that there were no plans to do so. Certain responsible politicians had simply raised the issue in informal 'late-night' talks.

The Hungarian delegation brought with it to Bonn a three-volume German-language listing of 35 Hungarian companies seeking foreign investment. Mr Beck reminded his partners that before 1945, 25 per cent of Hungarian industry had been foreign-owned. And such companies almost always developed more quickly, Siemens, AEG, and Tungsram being prime examples.

Talks also covered the problems Hungarians working abroad. [sentence as received] Currently, the quota for Hungarians employed in the FRG is 2,500, but Budapest would like to see it raised to 10,000 or even to 15,000.

Such questions will certainly be on the agenda of the planned visit by Chancellor Kohl to Hungary later in the year.

Asks for Job Aid

LD1310132889 Hamburg DPA in German 1032 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Kassel (DPA)—Hungarian Trade Minister Tamas Beck has called on West Germany to offer his compatriots possibilities of working. "Good practical and moral aid from the Federal Republic (are) very important" for Hungary's path from the planned economy to the free market economy, Beck said Thursday evening to representatives from the economy and politics in Kassel. Up to 10,000 Hungarians will become unemployed soon through the planned closure of uranium and coal mines. The present government is planning to restrict armaments as well. According to the trade minister, this will release many qualified employees who could certainly be well received by the German economy.

Discusses Economy

AU1310184989 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 13-14 Oct 89 p 15

[Report by "UG": "Trade Minister Beck Proposes German Investments"]

[Excerpt] Cologne—Hungarian Trade Minister Tamas Beck, who is currently in the Federal Republic for a visit lasting several days, was soliciting the confidence of German investors at a function of the East Europe Commission of German Business and Industry in

Cologne yesterday [12 October]. While assessing Hungary's problems realistically, Beck also stressed the strong points of his country and the obvious successes of the reforms.

Beck said that the economic and social reforms which have received much praise in the West were a tightrope act in domestic policy terms. He said, however, that foreign debts totaling U.S. $80 billion were pressing; Hungary's debt service this year amounted to about U.S. $3 billion, and roughly U.S. $25 billion had to be paid by the year 1995. He said that, given the country's relatively small export power, unpopular measures such as high taxes were necessary to procure these means.

However, these very measures were creating growing dissatisfaction among the people, he said. "The people do not understand the facts and the economic implications, and therefore tend to see the essence of the growing problems in the reform itself, and not in its inconsistent implementation," Beck said, trying to explain the problems of the Hungarian reformists. [passage omitted]

Pozsgay Interviewed on Congress, Reform

PM1310102289 Paris LE FIGARO in French 11 Oct 89 p 5

[Interview with Imre Pozsgay, new Hungarian Socialist Party candidate for the presidential election, by Jean-Jacques Mevel—date and place not given]

[Text] LE FIGARO: The party has changed its name, but the members have remained the same. What is the difference between the former Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] and the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]?

Imre Pozsgay: The difference is huge, although neither Hungarian opinion nor foreign opinion has yet understood it. The essential difference is in the presidium's composition. The HSP's program has nothing to do with that of the MSZMP. It breaks with the notion of the state identified with the party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the idea of democratic centralism.

LE FIGARO: You are the HSP's candidate for the presidency. How do you intend to convince the Hungarians that the party has really changed?

Imre Pozsgay: That will be the most difficult part of the campaign. I will find the necessary words. The Hungarians know me, and they are well acquainted with my action over the past 20 years.

LE FIGARO: What will your main campaign argument be?

Imre Pozsgay: The HSP's action. It will try to win support for the idea that without a European-style left-wing party, there will be no peaceful transition in Hungary.

LE FIGARO: Who is the HSP's real leader, Rezso Nyers or you? What role will you have with regard to the HSP?

Imre Pozsgay: Rezso Nyers is the party's real leader. He is the force for integration and the image of honesty which is necessary for the HSP's credibility. But I played a role in his election. I supported his candidacy from the start. We worked together. And there was no suspicion in this relationship. From the start, my political task was different.

LE FIGARO: As we saw, the congress brought out very different currents of opinion right to the end. Can reforming Communists and Socialists stay together in the same party for long?

Imre Pozsgay: For as long as they follow the framework of the program adopted at the congress. If the program is followed, the party will remain strong.

LE FIGARO: How long a period does the program cover?

Imre Pozsgay: It does not go on forever. It is a program which gives the new party an identity. In the coming year, the political struggles will make it possible to know where the HSP's main strength lies. But there will be no return to the past.

LE FIGARO: What is your assessment of communism? Does it still have a future in Hungary?

Imre Pozsgay: The record is negative. It was a blind alley. Communism did not bring us development or the promised modernization. It preached collective ownership: It created bureaucratic ownership. All the economic and social functions were replaced by bureaucratic coordination. It killed individual initiative and passiveness became the prevailing behavior. Communism is no longer on the agenda. Our objective is democratic socialism. And I stress the word "democratic."

LE FIGARO: Do you have regular contacts with Western politicians? Who are your friends?

Imre Pozsgay: I have very good contacts with Bettino Craxi, the Italian Socialist Party leader, with Hans Jochen Vogel, chairman of the West German Social Democratic Party of Germany. I have excellent relations with the Finnish Social Democratic Party. In addition, I have had several exchanges of views with (Austrian—LE FIGARO editor's note) Chancellor Franz Vranitzky.

LE FIGARO: What about France?

Imre Pozsgay: Much less. I have met with socialist politicians and ideologues. I cannot say that the contacts are very deep. However, I value the policy pursued by the French Socialists.

LE FIGARO: You were a member of the MSZMP Central Committee, you were culture minister under Janos Kadar. Some people in Hungary say that you changed sides at the right time. What triggered support for reform in you?

Imre Pozsgay: It started very early. My life is not free from mistakes. Perhaps I have been lucky, but I have no crime on my conscience. I have always had a humanist side.... I changed in the late sixties.

Although appearances are against me, I can account for all my actions. I was minister under Kadar. What is less well known is that I tried to end the most shameful aspects of education in Hungary. Kadar fired me for that. I have always been open. That made me credible.

LE FIGARO: Can you date the time when you stopped being a Communist?

Imre Pozsgay: I happened quite late. For a long time, I thought that it was with this party and through the party's leadership role that we could change things.... It was only 5 or 6 years ago that I accepted that the system could not be reformed and that a radical change was necessary.

LE FIGARO: In the political sphere, Hungary's liberalization was much more rapid than had been thought in spring 1988 when Kadar left. The opposition will probably have a majority in the 1990 elections. Do you fear a hardening of line by the orthodox Communists? Can they still attempt a coup?

Imre Pozsgay: I cannot imagine it. They would have no support in Hungarian society. There has never been a military putsch in Hungarian history. General Jaruzelski's experiment in Poland should change the minds of any who might think about it.

LE FIGARO: In Hungary, there is a great deal of talk about the problem of "uncontrolled" arms. Those of the workers' militia and the party cadres. How can it be solved?

Imre Pozsgay: It will have to be solved some day. But I would like to dispel an erroneous idea. The militia cannot keep arms at home. And with regard to self-defense weapons (those possessed by party cadres—LE FIGARO editor's note), the figures have been exaggerated.

Of course, there are weapons with which individual or even terrorist actions could be perpetrated. But I am absolutely sure that it is impossible to reverse the course of policy in Hungary. Armed outrages are not part of the Hungarian tradition.

LE FIGARO: How far can the reforms in Hungary go? Have you had the opportunity to discuss them with Mikhail Gorbachev? What are your personal relations with the USSR leadership?

Imre Pozsgay: Recently my personal contacts have been less frequent. I have never met Gorbachev. But I think he knows very well that I support his policy. I have been invited to visit Moscow, all we have to do is set a date.

LE FIGARO: Will 1956 happen again or not?

Imre Pozsgay: I am sure that it will not.

LE FIGARO: The Warsaw Pact has served to defend the communist order. That was seen in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968. What does Hungary stand to gain from remaining a member?

Imre Pozsgay: Thanks to perestroyka, the Warsaw Pact no longer limits Hungary's sovereignty. No country is contemplating leaving the Pact or NATO, and Hungary does not want to be the first to do that. It thinks that the two military alliances will lose their raison d'etre and will disappear one day.

Hungary has recently been able to make several sovereign decisions. These relate to internal policy but also to foreign policy. I will simply mention the establishment of relations with South Korea, the restoration of relations with Israel, and the question of the East German refugees.

LE FIGARO: Are reforms inevitable in the socialist countries? For instance, what are the chances of Erich Honecker's regime in the GDR surviving?

Imre Pozsgay: I think that reforms in Eastern Europe or in the socialist countries are inevitable. Having said that, I propose a rule of conduct: It is not up to me to say what the other countries should do. And it is not up to others to dictate what we Hungarians should do.

LE FIGARO: The HSP manifesto refers to the common destiny of the countries of the Danube. What does this mean?

Imre Pozsgay: It is the idea of central Europe in a more extended form. By that I mean Germany, northern Italy, Austria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Romania. History has been violent, but in 1,000 years these people have learned to live together. It is always the ruling class which has provoked the conflicts. Cooperation would be guaranteed if the governments of all these countries represented the people's will. In this region, the feeling of a common destiny is very strong. The 20th century's wars and peace treaties have not encouraged this idea. But we can change the course of events. It is not a matter of altering borders, but rather of making them symbolic.

LE FIGARO: Are the two Germanies part of this common destiny?

Imre Pozsgay: Yes.

Interview With MSZMP Supporter Ribanszki

LD1510205189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 15 Oct 89

[From "The Week" program]

[Text] [Unidentified presenter] Katalin Rangos spoke with Robert Ribanszki:

[Begin recording] [Rangos] For days, the news has been rife throughout the city that you are organizing the MSZMP.

[Ribanszki] Well, in this situation all kinds of reports, gossip, so-called information, and true information, are circulating.

[Rangos] Does what I just said belong to the latter category?

[Ribanszki] I believe that what is the issue here is unreal, so-called information. My opinion is that there is a Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party; it exists. So, it is not necessary to organize, begin this from the start. Rather, what is natural, is that the work must be organized. The party's forces must align themselves behind a realistic line, behind a realistic concept, which will be shaped by the membership itself.

[Rangos] The Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] considers itself to be the successor party to the MSZMP. According to legal interpretation, the congress, as the MSZMP'S highest corporate organ, decided that in the future it would function as a socialist party. You must organize another party—no matter how much it is regarded as a legal successor—if you want to continue the traditions of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

[Ribanszki] I would like to immediately dispel a misunderstanding. It is not my personal affair, and naturally, if it is necessary to organize this party's activity, if it is necessary to put it on its feet, if it is necessary to revive it, I am not the one who will do so.

[Rangos] Why not?

[Ribanszki] For all that, I naturally want to take part in it, just like many hundreds of communist party members will take part in this. As regards the ready-made situation, it is partly true and partly real [as heard]. Because in truth, at the congress they declared the formation of the new party. [Rangos tries to interrupt] The true voting will begin only now. Movement will get underway in the party organizations which are in place, at the party committees which are in place, and according to yesterday's statements these are the MSZMP'S committees and party organizations. The people will either go over to the HSP, or they will not. My opinion is that the majority will not transfer to the other party.

For precisely this reason [Rangos tries to interrupt], there is obviously an MSZMP; it still exists legally. I emphasize this, because it has not been dissolved. [passage indistinct in which Ribanszki tries to speak over Rangos's attempted interruptions]

If we take politics into account, and we can agree that it is a political issue, a political matter...

[Rangos, interrupting] You just gave legal arguments-...[passage indistinct in which Ribanszki again tries to talk over Rangos's remarks]

[Ribanszki] There are some, but we must caution ourselves against being side-tracked by this now. Neither of us are jurists—you may be a jurist, but to my knowledge you are not. [words indistinct]

In a genuine reform, we will revive this party.

[Rangos] If, after all, the HSP can be viewed as legitimate, as the sole legal successor to the MSZMP, and if this is established by a legal party which is entirely independent of us, will you organize the MSZMP, or will you organize a new party under another name? The essence of the question is whether you will group these forces, or whether you will take on a part in the organization of those who feel that the Socialist Party does not express their views sufficiently?

[Ribanszki] Look, it would be very tempting to agree with you. I very much regret that I have to contradict your saying that the the legitimate one is the HSP. The congress left the party. This should not be understood to include everyone, but in a certain respect the Party's right-wing separated. Let us put it on record: the MSZMP legally exists, moreover in the Constitution.

[Rangos] This Constitution...

[Ribanszki, interrupting] What is in the Constitution is that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is the leading force of Hungarian society. Thus, Marxism-Leninism...

[Rangos, interrupting] But it will be modified within a very short time.

[Ribanszki] Naturally they are trying to do so, but that is another enormous issue. Therefore, what we—and not just I, because there are very many of us, many hundreds of thousands—have to do is revive our activity, to begin from below. Form this...

[Rangos] Do you reject democratic centralism?

[Ribanszki] Not at all. But that is a side-track, another matter. You have asked what are we going to do.

[Rangos] Building from below brought it to mind.

[Ribanszki] And why not? But let us not dwell on that because it would constitute another 1-hour program and it would be unfortunate to waste time on this now.

We, naturally, will take the necessary steps, moreover tomorrow, because it will be Monday, 16 October. At 1700, there will be an MSZMP meeting of activists at the headquaraters of the 13th District party committee. I believe that it will be worthwhile to attentively follow the work of this meeting of activists.

[Rangos] In any event, if you again have to make yourselves legitmate, if you have to register yourselves, whether you can keep the name or have to change it—these are not matters on which things will depend; you by all means will function. This is how we could sum up, if necessary.

[Ribanszki] And if there were some people who want to prevent this use of the name MSZMP, it is not certain

they could do so. I believe that if after all it were to be registered, we would have it registered under this name. [end recording]

[Presenter] Robert Ribanszki—who, how should I put it - is helping to rekindle or refound or preserve the MSZMP—for a long time was a close colleague of Imre Pozsgay's, who, however, headed those who abolished the MSZMP and formed a new party out of it. It was not in a party body that they worked together, but in a movement, which offered a home for non-party members who were ready to cooperate with what was then the joint party to both of them. All this happened in the Patriotic People's Front, of which Pozsgay was the secretary-general, and Ribanszki was secretary.

EL DIA Publishes Interview With Nemeth

PY0710114089 Montevideo EL DIA in Spanish 1 Oct 89 p 6

[Report on "exclusive interview" with Miklos Nemeth, chairman of Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, by EL DIA correspondents Luis Prats and Andres Alsina in Budapest; date not given]

[Text] "We reject any attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of Hungary," affirmed Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, regarding a GDR demand for Hungary to change its border policy. He made this statement in an exclusive interview with EL DIA.

Reaffirming his decision not to restrict the movement of East Germans toward Austria, Nemeth stated that "from that standpoint, the government has taken an unambiguous position."

The same criterion is being appied to the tense situation in Bucharest over the Ceaucescu government's policy of forcibly assimilating the Hungarian minorities living in its territory. This gave rise to rumors over the past week—which were denied by Budapest—about military preparations and Romanian troops concentrating in border areas. "We have rejected and will reject any interference in the internal affairs of Hungary," Nemeth reasserted in statements carried by the Hungarian press agency.

Putting national priorities ahead of the interests of its Warsaw Pact allies is an increasingly obvious characteristic of the political and economic reforms in Hungary. This situation came to a critical point on 18 August when the Nemeth government exercised the rights it had gained in its denunciation of a 1969 treaty with the GDR by refusing to control the movement of East Germans. This opened the door to a flow of emigrants to the West, which this week surpassed 20,000 people.

This has led to criticism in Hungary that Budapest's foreign policy might be weak, criticism tht is saying that Budapest has "distant allied and nearby enemies." In his statements to EL DIA, Nemeth flatly rejected those criticisms. He said: "At best this is a misinterprettion of the situation; at worst it is a veiled attack on the government for its reformist aspirations. In any case, it is a brutal simplification of our extremely complex foreign policy."

In Nemeth's words, the objective of that policy is "to close ranks with Europe and the civilized nations" and, to that end, "decades-old biases and dogmas related to both allies and nonallies were broken."

To Avoid the "Counterreform"

Nemeth said: "Rather than demonstrating the seriousness of our new political mentality with theories and demands, we are making use of concrete steps and declarations." Regarding the progress that has been achieved, the Hungarian prime minister told EL DIA of "the meritorious efforts being made to knit a broad fabric of treaties and agreements to offer a mantle of international protection against the counterreform process."

Nemeth added that the Hungarian Government, "to make its position and aspirations known and understood, has openly faced public opinion both at home and abroad. Several world powers, both in the East and West, have not only expressed their understanding for the Hungarian Government's reformist aspirations but have offered us concrete help, accepting us as equals. We cannot dismiss that help, and we must note that such a high level of cooperation with our country has not occurred in this century."

"Close Enemies"

Nemeth, however, did not avoid the thorny side of this issue. "Regarding our close enemies, I think this description is the result of a fatal misunderstanding. There are disagreements on new issues and tensions with neighboring countries over old problems," he said, alluding to the GDR and Romania respectively.

"It is better to openly talk about it than to remain silent, as happened in the past; this way, at least, there is a possibility of solving the problems," Nemeth noted.

"Painful Measures"

On the domestic front, the reforms are facing economic and political difficulties. There are many reasons for these difficulties. According to some people, the government is acting hastily; others say that the executive branch is weak and is procrastinating on making decisions.

Nemeth does not consider himself the best person to evaluate his government's performance, but he did mention to EL DIA "some facts that I believe must be pointed out." Early this year we took measures that were painful for the population, but we saved the country from an impending financial collapse. We were forced to take similar measures in June. At the same time, on the foreign trade front, we established some guidelines that are yielding results this autumn (northern hemisphere), guidelines that kept the economy afloat." [no opening quotation mark as published]

"A Colossal Struggle"

The Hungarian prime minister described this task as "a colossal struggle to maintain the vital capability of our economy." He said that this struggle still continues and that, "thanks to this effort, our customers, including the Western countries, trust the Hungarian Government. We can predict that, if we take steps in the international area that take into account our nation's interests and do not violate those of other nations, we can create conditions under which the Western powers will be willing to support our government. [no closing quotation mark as published]

The Short Term

The Hungarian Government is now being accused by its internal opposition of lacking a work program. This would be the reason behind the claims that the government is acting hastily. Other people term the goal of outlining a government program as unrealistic because the current executive branch will only remain in power until June 1990 at the latest.

Nemeth dismisses these accusations and criticizes the surviving planned economies. In his opinion, people asking him for a program "expect one like those announced by previous governments. None of these governments, however, was able to implement such programs. We do not need programs with unrealistic goals. A program prescribing guidelines from above is worthless when it must be implemented under changing political and economic conditions."

"The countries that have successfully conformed to the new demands of economic and political transformation required by the international reality have never applied programs based on guidelines but rather have adopted strategies based on actions that guarantee such strategies."

Regarding the planned economy, Nemeth said: "Our government has broken with the past." "The strategy behind our guidelines is that they are supported by action; for us, this is the standard for their consistent and predictable character," he said.

The Government's Goals

Referring to his government's long-term goals, Nemeth said that they are "clear" and that they include "from the political standpoint, the construction of a democratic and social system worthy of Europe; from the economic standpoint, a market economy based on mixed ownership; and from the social standpoint, a new kind of civilian society.

"The difficulties that must be overcome to attain these goals are enormous. There are many who expect miracles, or at least measures that will secure immediate success, Unfortunatelly, we have to say that there are no miracles and that the problems that have been swept under the rug for 40 years cannot be solved overnight."

Regarding the initiatives that have been taken, Nemeth said "we have started to move down that road." Then he added: "Our aspirations are recognized and supported by important forces and international powers. The historical logic behind the Hungarian Government's actions can be found in the country's present situation. The government not only has an obligation to formulate that logic, but to make it prevail in political practice."

For the immediate future, Nemeth said that "the elections will decide on the organization of the new government. I am sure that it will be a coalition government, and I hope it will be a great national coalition that will include all important political forces."

"The task is so great that it exceeds the forces of a single party. The method of deciding on the proportions in the coalition will also be important. But one thing is clear: The new coalition government, should it assume the task of serving the nation, will have no more freedom of action than what we currently have."

A Key Date

The approaching anniversary of the 1956 uprising on 23 october is causing debates in Hungary on how this date should be commemorated; some call for declaring a national holiday, others for a "day of national commemoration," and there are those who propose to celebrate it as a "day of national pacification," reflecting the manner in which this important event of the recent past is interpreted in the country.

"The government has not yet established its position," Nemeth told EL DIA, "but, judging fron our personal contacts, I can say that it will generate a great debate" within the executive branch.

"Of course there are many opinions, and I do not want to influence you with my personal opinion, because that wouldn't be right. But I can say that 23 October is a date that for many reasons will live in the memories of all Hungarians. It is obvious that an uprising began on 23 October, an uprising fueled by a rejection of the inhuman Stalinist policy and its economic system and inspired by a desire for national independence."

"Among the many struggles for national independence—which have always been forcefully crushed—we can mention the 23 October 1956 struggle," Nemeth said.

Hungarians a short time ago rediscovered and honored Imre Nagy (born in 1896 and executed in 1958), who headed the revolutionary government during the 1956 revolt. Nagy had been removed from the position of premier in 1955 after heading a reformist government that for 2 years tried to heed the yearnings for reforms that began with the death of Jose Stalin.

The ceremony for Nagy was a good opportunity for those who wanted to speak up and for those who, without showing meaningful disagreements, are working to implement the reforms necessary to face today's challenges. The ceremony also served as a prelude to the debate that will surely follow the commemoration of the 23 October

uprising. One of the possible consequences will be that Nagy will be reburied, but this time with all honors. The ritual that marks Hungarian disagreements and gives them their proper value in history will thus be repeated once again. Someone defined this rite to EL DIA by saying that "we always bury our illustrious dead twice."

Nemeth was at the ceremony honoring Nagy and made this evaluation of the polemic leader: "Imre Nagy's activities before 1956, in Hungary and the Soviet Union can only be assessed in comparison with the activities of the other communist leaders of the time."

"I paid homage to the Imre Nagy that in 1956 yearned for independence and reforms, the Nagy who was deceived and repeatedly betrayed after 1956, and who was later unjustly executed," Nemeth said.

Chairman Nemeth then said: "My position is unchanged. If his funeral were to be held today I would attend just the same; I am convinced that only by remembering our predecessors can the next Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party congress renew itself."

"Our predecessors began this struggle in 1956 to renew our socialism and to achieve national independence. They were the ones who in 1953 began a movement to change the Stalinist model. They prepared the 1968 reforms and prevented the total counterreforms of the 1970's," Nemeth said.

Nemeth added: "Neither should we forget the militants involved in the renewal or the renovators who gained the recognition and respect of society with their attitude, work, and moral standing. They were special people: The people and the nation were always first in their minds. They were always willing to cooperate with their fellow countrymen who were honest, who loved their families, and who wanted to work hard."

Delegation Head Kotai Comments on Varna Meeting

PM1210091489 Paris LE FIGARO in French 7-8 Oct 89 p 3

[Jean-Jacques Mevel dispatch: "Eyes Fixed on the West"]

[Text] Budapest—This summer, Hungary chose the West when it had to choose between the two Germanies in deciding the fate of the East Germans who had taken refuge on its soil. The link between Bonn and Budapest was more than temporary complicity. Hungary has much less influence than the FRG, and it is in the other camp. But it is on the same diplomatic course—a confident foreign policy which annoys its allies and aims to end 40 years of status quo in Europe.

This was demonstrated by events in Varna (Bulgaria), which went almost unnoticed. It is true that the traditional meeting of the 12 ruling communist parties in the world usually does not produce anything exciting. But this year, Hungary refused to sign the final communique. It was an unprecedented gesture.

"I would not even have considered it 10 years ago," Geza Kotai, who headed the Hungarian delegation to Varna, explained. Educated in Moscow, then a diplomat in London, he is now director of the party Central Committee's international department. "I would have consulted the leadership 5 years ago. This time, I had no hesitation, the text was unacceptable."

What was the reason for this outburst? One of the reasons is revealing. In the purest officialese, the text signed by Hungary's 11 allies (Footnote) (Bulgaria, Romania, GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, North Korea, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, the USSR, and Vietnam) condemns "the increase in revanchism and neofascism in some countries." You do not have to be very clever to understand that the target was West Germany. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], the East German party, used all its influence to secure these remarks and put Hungary in a difficult position.

Difficult Relations with the GDR

Relations between Hungary, the champion of reforms, and the GDR, guardian of orthodoxy, have been very bad since the refugees affair. In Varna, SED representative Hermann Axen "threw the question at me" in plenary session, Geza Kotai said. "I apologized to our partners and then I explained to him frankly that it was not the place to discuss it."

Geza Kotai can be pleasant. "There is nothing tragic about the fact that Hungary cannot identify with the intentions expressed by Cuba, the GDR, North Korea, or Vietnam." Erich Honecker will be pleased to be ranked with Fidel Castro and Kim Il-song.

The celebrations to mark the GDR's 40th anniversary in East Berlin and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party congress provide another opportunity to assess the cooling of relations. Hungary sent its President Bruno Straub, an old unobtrusive figure, flanked by a deputy premier, to represent it in East Berlin. "Just to have a presence," Geza Kotai said. In Budapest, the GDR will be represented by its ambassador and not, as usual, by members of the SED leadership.

Fundamentally, Budapest's position is even clearer. A Hungarian foreign ministry official said: "It is true, there are growing tensions with our allies, especially in the ideological sphere. But we will do what we think we ought to do, whether they like it or not. And we will not accept criticism from anybody."

However, Hungary is laying itself open to attack: the dismantling of the iron curtain, the restoration of normal relations with Israel, preliminary talks with the Vatican, and neutrality are all possible subjects of controversy with its allies.

What about the ideological sphere? The Varna document reaffirms the validity of "scientific socialism," in other words the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the superiority of socialist ownership, among other

things. "It was absolutely ridiculous to bring that up again," Geza Kotai said. "To overcome the crisis, Hungary has only one option: a multiparty system and the market economy."

However, on the Hungarian side the time is not right for confrontation. "Despite everything, the country's fate is linked to that of the rest of Eastern Europe," the diplomat said. The politician added: "For our allies, there is no alternative to reforms. Perestroyka will eventually reach everywhere. That is why we must maintain contact, even if it is increasingly difficult to make ourselves understood."

The confident tone of Hungarian diplomacy pays off. "It is now easier to talk with the Western countries," according to sources in the foreign ministry. Inside the Warsaw Pact, Hungary has gained a stature which Poland, another reforming country, apparently does not yet have.

Oppositionist Kis Interviewed on Reforms

PM1210105889 Paris LIBERATION in French 9 Oct 89 p 5

[Interview with Janos Kis, member of the Hungarian Free Democrats Alliance, by Veronique Soule—date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Introductory passage omitted]

LIBERATION: A section of the opposition seems to trust Imre Pozsgay, the reformer, who will probably run for the presidency and has a good chance of winning. What do you think?

Janos Kis: I look beyond his personality to the thrust of his ambitions. Pozsgay want a personalized power, rather like De Gaulle who did not intend to represent only the Gaullists. By aspiring to this position through a plebiscite, Pozsgay is therefore helping to destabilize the future democracy.

LIBERATION: Why would a strong president always be a source of destabilization?

Janos Kis: In the coming years, the parliamentary system which will be established will be weak. There are several reasons for this. First, the population will be rather half-hearted about participating; we can even expect that a large section will not participate in the creation of this Fourth Republic. In addition, the economic crisis will worsen and unpopular measures will have to be taken. If the president is strong, there is a serious danger of sliding toward a conventional presidential dictatorship.

LIBERATION: Can a return to the past be ruled out?

Janos Kis: A return in the strict sense of the term can be ruled out. The foundations of the monolithic and strictly hierarchical party have disintegrated. In addition, the regime's social and economic resources have been exhausted. On the other hand, we can imagine an authoritarian dictatorship led by a president with a parliamentary facade. This tendency could easily prevail.

LIBERATION: Does the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] look like the most promising opposition force?

Janos Kis: Since the end of last century Hungary has been governed by a huge center coalition. The MDF continues this tradition, with its rather vague program and its heterogeneous composition. It has every chance of success in the coming elections and could fill the vacuum left by the communist party, which also functioned as a conglomerate centrist party in government.

LIBERATION: Do you feel reassured about the USSR?

Janos Kis: The decisive factor is not Gorbachev's reform policy but rather the USSR's economic and political weakness due to its internal crisis. The USSR does not have the necessary strength to restore order in the East European regimes. Of course, militarily speaking it would be capable of doing so. But, after that, we would have to achieve economic stabilization. And we have seen how this second phase failed in Poland.

LIBERATION: How do you view the development of conservative fraternal countries like the GDR and Czechoslovakia?

Janos Kis: These are two ossified regimes similar to the old Brezhnev regime, incapable of adapting to new challenges or resisting pressures. We can see signs of weakening. In the GDR there is a resurgence of opposition; in Czechoslovakia, the links around Charter 77, which was previously an isolated core, are being extended. These regimes will have to change. Moreover, we have recently seen a very interesting change in the FRG. Hitherto its Ostpolitik advocated nonintervention and unconditional support for the Honecker government, in the hope that the regime would become more liberal of its own accord. The FRG finally put out the flags to welcome the refugees.

LIBERATION: Are you fairly optimistic?

Janos Kis: I am optimistic about the collapse of the socialist system. I am less optimistic about the results. Will we move toward a clear parliamentary system and a Western-style market economy? I am cautiously hopeful.

LIBERATION: Do you think, like many people here, that Hungary has more chance of democratizing than Poland?

Janos Kis: The answer is not very clear. It is not impossible that Poland has reached rock bottom; and Hungary could still fall further. One thing is certain: There is now a great opportunity for reunifying Europe. But everything depends on solving our internal problems.

Further Reports on GDR Refugee Situation

Refugees Leave for Duesseldorf

LD1710172689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] The first group of some 120 GDR refugees flew out of Warsaw today to Duesseldorf. There are still about 1,300 GDR citizens left in Warsaw. REUTER reports that the first group to leave for the FRG contained all those who received documents authorizing them to travel to the West from the GDR Embassy in Warsaw yesterday and today. The agency also reports that perhaps refugees from the GDR will also leave Poland for the FRG by ferry.

Citizens Arrive in Duesseldorf

LD1710203189 Hamburg DPA in German 2012 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Duesseldorf (DPA)—The first GDR refugees who left Poland by air arrived in Duesseldorf this evening. Some 125 people were on board the LOT airliner. Hermann Heinemann, the North Rhine-Westphalian minister of social affairs, welcomed them at the airport, thanking the Polish Government for its humanitarian stand. Buses belonging to the Federal Border Protection took the new arrivals to the Schoeppingen emergency reception camp in Westphalia.

Fewer Reported

LD1710160889 Zielona Gora Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] The number of Germans leaving the GDR has decreased a little recently. The majority of GDR citizens coming into Poland by the western border, by [private] invitation or in tourist groups, go directly to Warsaw, to the FRG embassy. As the Border Protection Troops report, there are fewer cases of illegal crossing of the so-called "green" border in Gorzow and Zielona Gora voivodships. This is due to the considerable increase in military patrols on the GDR side.

Skubiszewski on Situation

AU1610130889 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 12 Oct 89 p 6

[Interview with Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Polish minister of foreign affairs, by Pawel Smolenski: "I Am Against Deportations"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Smolenski] What is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' position on refugees from the GDR?

[Skubiszewski] When GDR citizens wishing to emigrate to the FRG began appearing at the FRG Embassy in Warsaw, I said that Poland's position was that no one would be deported. That continues to be our position. Emigration from one German state to another is a matter for the FRG and the GDR. Poland does not intend to become involved in the substantive elements of this problem. However, we are involved in the issue to the extent that GDR refugees are in Poland. So far, we have managed to arrange the transfer of refugees to the FRG with the agreement of the GDR on two occasions. I hope that it will continue to be possible to achieve solutions of this kind in the future.

It is our duty to settle the affairs of refugees in a humanitarian and pragmatic manner. It is obvious what constitutes a humanitarian solution. Pragmatism, however, means maintaining good relations with both the GDR and the FRG. I do not intend to cover up the fact that the refugee issue may complicate these relations. Leaving other important factors aside, I would remind you that many Poles travel to the FRG and the GDR to work. We have to take their interests into account.

[Smolenski] Yet several hundred GDR Germans were recently deported to the GDR from Poland. As these people decided to swim across the Odra, it is not difficult to imagine how determined they were to escape. By sending the refugees back to the GDR, we are sentencing them to several years' imprisonment.

[Skubiszewski] Questions concerning the removal of GDR citizens who crossed the border at places other than those designated for that purpose from the border zone should be addressed to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Frontier Guard. People who cross the border illegally without the necessary papers are—at least from the legal angle—in a different position from those who arrived in Poland normally and do not wish to return to their own state. That is what the situation is like in all countries, and those who arrive illegally are frequently deported. However, that is not the point in this case. I still believe that there should be no deportations. I am doing all that I can to prevent them.

[Smolenski] What efforts are you making?

[Skubiszewski] I am holding talks on the subject, but I cannot divulge their content. The key to the question depends on the outcome of the talks, that is, on settling the issue in a manner that fulfills the Polish state's international obligations regarding the protection of human rights, as well as requirements dictated by our state interests. I think that state interests should be pursued in a way that does not harm the interests of the indvidual. The problems of high level politics should be solved in a humanitarian way.

Skubiszewski Speaks to Sejm on WWII Reparations

LD1610170989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1455 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Speech by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski to the Sejm—live]

[Text] Sejm, speaker, members of the house: I will begin with the first question from Deputy Gawski. The Polish government will support legally founded claims by Polish natural and legal persons for compensation for losses suffered during World War II as a result of actions for which the former hostile countries are responsible, especially those countries occupying Polish territory during World War II. In addition, the Polish Government will support claims for losses suffered as a result of actions for which natural and legal persons belonging to those states are responsible. The Polish Government will especially support claims which have a legal base, which the Association of Poles Wronged by the Third Reich is dealing with.

This is the answer to the first question, but one cannot end the answer at this point. One has, however, to realize that claims for damages, and at the same time their support by the state, meets different obstacles: obstacles both of a legal and a political nature. I will list some of them here. I think they are the most important ones.

The regulation of German compensation for damages after World War II was unfavorable for Poland from the very beginning. Paragraph 2 of the Potsdam Agreement on German compensation signed on 2 August 1945 envisaged that, and I quote: The USSR will commit itself to satisfying Polish claims for compensation from its own part of compensation. End of quote.

This agreement was an unfavorable one because it rendered impossible Polish claims direct to Germany, which, at that time, was under occupation. In practice, may it please the house, the issue looked even worse. The question arises whether per saldo, we received anything on the basis of the Potsdam norm, and even here there is a question of whether we had (?the right at all).

Poland received, or was to have received 15 percent of reparation supplies from the Soviet occupation zone—later the GDR—and 15 percent of industrial installations as a Soviet share from the western occupation zones.

Even if Poland had received this compensation—and this is without looking at the statistics or into the archives—but even if it had received it, it is necessary to deduct Polish supplies of coal to the USSR at a special negotiated price, that is at a tenth of the then world price of coal. I refer here to the Polish-Soviet agreement on compensation for the damage inflicted by the German occupation, signed in Moscow on 16 August 1945. The agreement is public, but hardly known. The issue of Polish losses that arose in association with supplies of Polish coal to the USSR—consequent upon a very low price, if this was a price at all, and these supplies continued from 1946 to 1955—the issue of these losses was the subject of Polish-Soviet talks and agreements in 1956. I will not return to them here for this would take us a little too far from the question of compensation.

This is not the end of the matter. A further result of the Potsdam Agreement was that Poland then found itself outside the Paris Agreement on Compensation of 14 January 1946.

Another treaty must also be changed, namely the Treaty of London, of 27 February 1953, relating to the prewar debts of the German Reich. We are not interested in this, for the prewar debts of the Reich are not compensation. But there were certain norms in this treaty relating to war reparations. According to this treaty, demands resultant from World War II, the demands of the former opponents of Germany and the states occupied by the Germans and their citizens, were deferred by the Treaty of London—I quote: until the final regulation of the issue of reparations. This then meant the signing of a peace treaty with Germany. I will recall that at the time of the signing of the Treaty of London in 1953, the signing of a peace treaty with Germany was still regarded as a matter that was current and attainable.

The further course of the issue of German compensation for Poland developed in a dreadful manner. In the protocol signed on 22 June 1953 in Moscow, between the USSR and the GDR, the Soviet Government—we read in Article one—after agreement with the Government of the Polish People's Republic, completely broke off, from 1 January 1954, the drawing of reparations from the GDR both in the form of supplies of goods and in other forms.

I would ask the esteemed house to draw attention to the formulation of this obligation. There was a break in the drawing of reparations, not a definite resignation from them. This breaking off applies solely in relation to the GDR. The treaty with the USSR does not mention Germany as a whole. Meanwhile, the Government of the Polish People's Republic went significantly further, in fact as far as it was possible to go. Not only did it agree to the USSR-GDR protocol, which could be on the agenda by virtue of the then very difficult economic situation of the GDR, but worse, on 23 August 1953 the Government of the Polish People's Republic issued a statement, later registered and published in a collection of treaties of the United Nations organization. In this statement, the Government of the Polish People's Republic forsook, as of 1 January 1954, the payment of compensation to Poland in relation to Germany, and so, that is, it forsook the receipt of compensation, of all compensation. And in favor of whom? Not only of the GDR, but in favor of all Germany.

In the relevant part of the Polish statement—an official statement that was internationally registered, there is twice talk of Germany, not just of the GDR. There is no talk—as with the USSR—of breaking off the drawing of reparations. If something is broken off it can one day be resumed; but there is talk of forfeiting, which is once and for all. So, I will recall that the normalization treaty with the FRG of 1970, and the associated documents about Polish compensation demands, are altogether mute. And, after all, that was the moment to gain something in

this respect. However, against this there stood this earlier, dreadful forfeiting of demands from 1953. The general forfeiture of compensation from Germany by the government of Bolesaw Bierut was an eloquent example of the activity of this government that was very harmful for the state and nation. I speak of activity, and not of policy. In my opinion, what that government did was not any kind of policy. Sticking to the chronology of the matter, the treaty between the three western powers, the former occupiers, and the FRG of 26 May 1952, which was then revised in Paris on 23 October 1954, also concerns itself with compensation questions. This is a convention about the resolution of matters ensuring from the war and occupation. Although it deferred the problem of reparations until a peace treaty with Germany, it did not exclude earlier treaties on this matter, and itself regulated the investigation of various demands. On the basis of this convention, various Poles harmed by the war gained payments from the FRG, sometimes very large payments.

However, they received them as residents living abroad and having foreign citizenship. These were Poles who were wronged by the war and who settled abroad. That became the place of their residence and there they received new citizenship and had their claims assessed, but not as Polish citizens. Polish citizens living in Poland were not included in this convention. Here I will add that only one category of claims has been settled between Poland and the FRG, namely financial claims resulting from pseudomedical experiments in concentration camps. In the first place, the first group of those wronged received about DM 40 million, in most cases converted to Polish zloty. They received this as a result of claims assessed on an individual basis. This was the first part. Then, a ministerial agreement was reached: Poland and the FRG signed such agreement. It envisaged payments of a total of DM 100 million with DM 3 million for administrative costs.

Certain deputies will know that the way the payments were divided and the participation of, let me say it cautiously, certain official persons in it, were the subject of different criticism, censure, suspicions, and press discussion. The Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK] examined this. I will not discuss this side of the issue because it is not the subject of the written question.

In any case, as far as the victims of the pseudomedical experiments are concerned, the FRG is not under any obligation to make any other payments. But they are just one category of people, a category which is not large, because when the agreement was made, a number of people who were subjected to the cruel treatment were already dead.

I am not discussing here the regulation of insurance matters, because they did not belong to the issue of war damages nor to civil and legal claims by victims of Nazi terror, although the war did have an influence on insurance. The influence was based not so much on implementation but on the lack of implementation throughout the years.

Finally, this was normalized in annuities' agreements with the two German states. I think that these lengthy explanations which I gave to the House here demonstrate at least some of the difficulties. I am not mentioning the law of the FRG and any obstacles there, in particular the 1956 Federal Law on Damages and its supplements—this would be too long an arguement and probably too tiring for the house. These explanations, I think, belong to the replies to the remaining questions with the exception of the final question; that is why I shall answer further questions by Deputy Gawski briefly.

The question of damages for victims of Hitlerism was the subject of talks by representatives of the Polish premier and the Federal chancellor. Here, the initiative belonged to Poland, just as earlier, and there was a divergence in the Polish and German attitude—it continues to exist but Poland does not give up tacking this issue. Economic agreements which are to be finalized during the visit of the Federal chancellor to Warsaw do not depend on our giving up the claims, in particular on behalf of forced labor in Germany. These two issues are not linked. The German assistance and the economic concessions which we expect do not depend on the withdrawal of these claims—the claims which are submitted by private persons, with the state acting here as a collector of such claims. As regards another question—executing the claims of Poles and their families against physical persons or legal persons in the GDR, in particular as a result of forced labor—is not for us a secret subject. I am saying this because the question to me asked if this was a taboo subject. No, it is not. Last year the Polish Embassy in Berlin expressed its dissatisfaction vis-a-vis the trade unions in the GDR because they refused to confirm the documents on forced labor during the war in German enterprises, which are in the area currently belonging to the GDR.

The GDR trade unions appealed against a lack of documentation. There were other arguements too that did not convince us. The support of the efforts by the Polish Government for compensation to people who were persecuted or who suffered losses makes no distinction between the two German states. We support equally the demands of our citizens in relation to persons, enterprises, and the GDR.

The fifth question—the reply is a short one. The Association of Poles Harmed by the Third Reich [SPUPTR] can count on the support of the government and state administration. We understand, however, that like every association, it will function independently, it will turn to the government only when administrative help is necessary.

Finally the last question, the sixth question. I trust that the esteemed House will agree with me that it would be

difficult to discuss here the entirety of agreement and reconcilation between the Polish nation and the German nation, between Polish society and German society in the GDR, and German society in the FRG. This is a topic that measures up to a separate and really rather long speech. Soon, the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission will concern itself with this question, discussing the entirety of Polish-German relations. I will thus briefly say that the lack of compensation for persons who suffered during the war as a result of lawlessness and force is something incomprehensible to the average man. It is certain a dissonance in the very advanced process of accord and reconciliation. For precisely between Polish society and German society existing in both states is this reconciliation and accord which today is very far advanced, and which is witnessed by various facts. I do not have to name them here—if only the mass journeys there, if only various contacts, including familiar ones, if only the unprecedented sending of 30 million parcels to Poland during the Martial Law period, and many other facts.

So, it is advanced. The dissonance in this is precisely the fact that the German state—both of them—does not want to get involved in the matter of compensation, and enterprises in the GDR, as far as I know, have never paid; In the FRG certain sums were advanced, also for people of Jewish origin who were compulsorily employed. But these were all payments of an ex-gratia nature, as the lawyers have it—out of kindness.

That means that an enterprise, a large German concern, could have said: alright, we'll give them DM5 million or thereabouts, but we're giving it voluntarily and not because we are obliged to. That's something else. However, our citizens who have been wronged want to approach it as a question of obligation.

In conclusion, the refusal to pay compensation, to people who indeed suffered severely—many of them aren't alive today, more they have descendants, don't they, there are their children. [sentence as heard] Those children often suffered severely because their mother or father were deported or forced labor. [passage indistinct] The refusal to pay this compensation is not only a question of the letter of the law and of legal arguments—although we must examine that [word indistinct]. It is, above all, a question of justice, of individual and social justice. It is quite simply a question of honesty.

Thank you Mister Speaker.

Shevardnadze To Visit Poland 24-25 Oct

LD1710185889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] At the invitation of the Polish Government, head of Soviet diplomacy Eduard Shevardnadze will pay a 2-day visit to Poland on 24-25 October.

Gerasimov: Mazowiecki Visit 'Considered'

LD1810001589 Warsaw PAP in English 2323 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, Oct. 17—At today's press conference Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a Polish TV correspondent that the matter of a visit of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki to the Soviet Union was being currently considered.

It will be further examined in Warsaw, he added.

Soviet Investigation of Katyn, Trials Requested

AU1710131589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Oct 89 pp 1, 4

[PAP headline: "PPR Prosecutor General Issues Communique"]

[Text] The Polish People's Republic [PPR] Prosecutor General has requested that the USSR Prosecutor General:

—initiate and carry out an investigation into the murder at Katyn and other locations, the whereabouts of which have not been established thus far, of Polish officers who were interned in the fall of 1939 and were subsequently placed in camps at Kozelsk, Starobelsk, and Ostashkov;

—institute rehabilitation procedures concerning the representatives of Polish political groupings who were sentenced in Moscow in June 1945.

In May 1988 the Soviet members of the Commission of PPR and USSR Party Historians dealing with issues relating to the history of relations between the two countries were presented with a report prepared by Polish members of the commission that states that the research findings of Polish historians confirm suspicions that the Katyn crime of 1940 was committed by Soviet functionaries.

The Katyn crime has been the subject of many works of a historical character.

In light of the international obligations that are binding on both the PPR and the USSR, the Katyn massacre bears the features of genocide and is not subject to a statutory period of limitation.

The crime was committed on Soviet territory and that is where material evidence and oral testimony may be found.

The application emphasizes Poland's readiness to institute proceedings, should those be requested by the Soviet side.

The second of the applications submitted by the PPR Prosecutor General concerns the trial at the military tribunal of the USSR Supreme Court in Moscow from 18 to 21 June 1945 of Jan Stanislaw Jankowski, deputy

premier of the government of the Polish Republic based in London, and General Leopold Okulicki, former commander in chief of the Home Army, as well as of the following representatives of Polish political groupings who were members of the Council of National Unity: Adam Bien, Stanislaw Jasiukiewicz, Kazimierz Puzak, Kazimierz Baginski, Aleksander Zwierzynski, Eugeniusz Czarnowski, Stanislaw Mierzwa, Zbigniew Stypulkowski, Jozef Chacinski, Franciszek Urbanski, Antoni Pajdakow, Stanislaw Michalowski, Kazimierz Kobylanski, and Jozef Stemler-Dabski.

The sentencing of these Polish citizens is currently the subject of keen interest on the part of Polish historians, columnists, and public opinion, which has expressed misgivings about the legality of the detentions, arrests, indictments, and sentencing. It should be pointed out that the trial took place at a time when political talks were being held in Moscow with a view to establishing a Council of National Unity in Poland.

Rehabilitation procedures pertaining to this affair cannot be instituted in Poland, because all the judicial decisions were made by Soviet judicial organs.

The applications were conveyed through diplomatic channels.

Rakowski 'Very Pleased' With Soviet Meeting

AU1610125889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Oct 89 p 5

[PAP report: "Before Departure"]

[Text] Moscow—Before his departure from Moscow's Vnukovo Airport on 11 October, PAP asked Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] first secretary, to sum up his Moscow visit.

This has been a working visit, said the PZPR first secretary. That is what one usually calls talks like these. What does it mean? In this case, it meant a very frank and open talk on all Polish and Soviet problems, including the problems of perestroyka and socialist renewal in our country.

I had the impression, and not for the first time, that M. Gorbachev is a man who would like to have first-hand knowledge of everything, including the Polish situation. He asks questions, which of course are not like the questions teachers ask schoolchidren. He quite simply wants to know what is happening in Poland. This knowledge is necessary in order for him to understand the mechanisms that have been set in motion by the involvement of parties like the CPSU or Polish party in the process of socialist renewal.

He said that the CPSU treats the Polish party as a very close ally and that it will support all actions to consolidate the Polish party in society. He also declared a desire and readiness to expand cooperation between the PZPR and CPSU in all spheres. As usual, he was open to any suggestion on ways of enriching cooperation.

This is a man who has an excellent feel for the rhythm of the times.

I am very pleased with this meeting, and we also discussed problems concerning economic cooperation, M. Rakowski concluded.

Reportage on Swedish Premier Carlsson's Visit

Arrives in Warsaw

LD1310033389 Warsaw PAP in English 2149 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 12—Sweden's Premier Ingvar Carlsson arrived here today at the invitation from Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The visit, proposed by the Swedish side, is of a working character.

Carlsson was welcomed at the airport here by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, members of the Polish Government and Swedish Ambassador to Poland Jean Christophe Deberg.

The Swedish premier is accompanied by a group of economic advisors who are to meet with officials of the Polish Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations to discuss in detail the future contacts and the range of Swedish assistance for Poland in protecting the environment of the Baltic. Sweden's government granted Swedish crowns 300 million for this aim.

Meets Jaruzelski, Rakowski

LD1310210689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Bilateral relations, cooperation in the sphere of the economy and environmental protection were the principal subjects of talks by the Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, who is on a working visit to Poland. In the morning Prime Minister Carlsson laid a wreath at the Tomb of an Unknown Soldier in Warsaw. Directly after this ceremony the Swedish Prime Minister met with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. After the plenary talks both prime ministers signed an intergovernmental agreement on the protection and mutual support of investments. Moreover, Ingvar Carlsson announced that in 1991 customs and export limitations in trade between Sweden and Poland will be abolished. He also expressed readiness to share the Swedish experiences in fighting budget deficit.

In the afternoon he met with Presidednt Wojciech Jaruzelski in the Belweder Palace and then with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Polish United Workers Party Central Committee first secretary. Ingvar Carlsson then met with newsmen.

Continues Visit

LD1310225289 Warsaw PAP in English 2204 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 13—A meeting between Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski and Swedish Premier and Chairman of the Social Democratic Labour Party Ingvar Carlsson was held at the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee [CC] seat here.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski presented an assessment of the situation in Poland from the PUWP's point of view and informed his guest about the current state of the discussion on the directions of changes in the PUWP in the light of preparations for the party's 11th Congress.

The PUWP CC 1st secretary expresses interest in enlivening the dialogue of PUWP with the party of Swedish social democrats.

This what PUWP CC First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski told PAP in the wake of the meeting:

"Polish affairs in the European dimension were obviously the main topic. Ingvar Carlsson also referred to my visit to Moscow and asked about my vision of the future of perestroyka and its influence in Europe. As regards Poland, the Swedish guest was interested among other things in the question of the ruling coalition which also includes the Polish United Workers' Party. There was also a question whether this coalition will last. Ingvar Carlsson was also interested in this country's affairs pertaining to the near and more distant future. We also referred in our conversation to problems of the party represented by the Swedish prime minister."

Rakowski, inquired by newsmen about details of the talks, said that the situation in this country is still unstable. "New forces appeared on the political scene which are in the process of forming their image. This applies to the Citizens' Parliamentary Club, Solidarity, the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, and the Polish United Workers' Party. Therefore, this (scene) can now hardly be regarded as one likely to continue for one, two or three years.

"All this is still highly mobile, its construction is still transparent: It can be easily damaged or destroyed by various kinds of actions one might undertake. Determining my attitude to the government of Prime Minister Mazowiecki I said that we set a store by its success as this is not a party cause but a national one. If the present government succeeds in overcoming existing difficulties, this will be the victory of society as a whole."

The talks with President Wojciech Jaruzelski, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, PUWP CC First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski encourage further fruitful cooperation between Poland and Sweden, Sweden's Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson stated at a press conference today, adding: I admire Poland for her wise striving for democracy.

The Swedish guest next stated that transformations in Poland were a pillar for a future Europe free of all barriers. I think that my visit to Poland is taking place at a historic moment for your country and the whole old continent, Carlsson said.

Replying to question on the protection of the Baltic's environment, the Swedish premier stated that states bordering on the Baltic should jointly prevent its degradation.

Sweden wants to contribute to the renewal of Polish economic life. Representatives of our delegation and Polish economic experts have started concrete talks already during this visit aimed at putting to detail cooperation. Further details will presumably be discussed during Premier Mazowiecki's visit to Sweden. I have personally invited him to my country, Carlsson told newsmen.

Late in the evening, Prime Minister Carlsson met with Solidarnosc Chairman Lech Walesa at the Swedish Embassy in Warsaw.

We feel too little Scandinavia in Poland: Politically, economically and socially. We are close neighbours while economic ties between us are weak, Lech Walesa told Polish and Swedish newsmen covering the first minutes of his meeting with the Swedish guest. Walesa spoke with the Swedish premier about his expectations regarding the development of the situation in Poland, expressing a conviction that if the reforms will continue positively, more and more Poles will return to their country from abroad.

The Solidarnosc chairman was the last interlocutor of the Swedish premier today. On Saturday, the last day of his visit, Carlsson will travel to Krakow and the steelworks in Nowa Huta.

Andrzej Olechowski, a department head at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations today held talks with Staffan Sohlman, special coordinator for economic cooperation with Eastern Europe and ambassador at the Swedish Foreign Ministry, on how Poland would use 300 million krona of assistance from the Swedish Government.

Olechowski told PAP that the sum is to be spent over 3 financial years, in other words 2.5 calendar years. It will be earmarked for natural environment protection, training of local self-government in social policy and health care and endorsement of cooperation between Polish and Swedish non-governmental organizations. The Polish side forwarded very concrete proposals, particularly in natural environment protection. The next talks will be held on October 25.

Toasted by Mazowiecki

AU1710102589 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14-15 Oct 89 p 2

[Speech by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki at a luncheon given in honor of Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, in Warsaw on 13 October 1989]

[Text] Mr. Prime Minister! Your presence here gives us particular pleasure. It is the first visit at the prime ministerial level after the change of government in Poland. We attach great importance to this visit, because we are interested in the creation of a favorable international climate for Poland and the changes that are occurring here. We are grateful for Sweden's participation in the process that is creating this favorable climate.

We value your initiative to come here at a moment which is so important for Poland. At this particular point we have two main goals; to create a democratic state, and to pull Poland's economy out of its catastrophic situation. Our success will also be significant for the whole of Europe.

For us, your visit to Poland is a sign of Sweden's new, and in recent times, particularly vigorous "Eastern policy." Apart from the advantages this has for the two sides, it also aids genuine detente in Europe. At present, we have conditions that are facilitating the opening up of Poland—as well as other countries of our region—toward the world and Europe. In this process, your policies are helping to overcome the barriers that have existed to date.

We are especially counting on Swedish cooperation. For two countries that are neighbors—linked by the Baltic Sea—the extent of our current relations does not do justice to our mutual possibilities and needs. We would like to see an extension of economic, trade, scientific, and technological cooperation and interchange. I am counting on seeing tangible results by the end of this year, bearing in mind the forthcoming visits of the Swedish ministers of foreign trade, and construction. Within the general framework of our transformations we shall be striving to create more favorable conditions in Poland in which Swedish firms can operate.

We shall be striving to secure an exchange of thought and experience. Sweden has shown that the principles which govern the market economy can be linked with effective state intervention, especially in the sphere of social policy. We want this closer cooperation in order to benefit from your experience, as far as we are able, particularly in the elaboration of a program of social security during the course of profound economic restructuring.

The Baltic Sea is not merely a barrier that divides us. It is also our common asset. That is why we must pay particular attention to protecting its ecology, and to the development of our mutual cooperation in the field of environmental protection. Here we have a lot to learn from Sweden, and we are conscious of the fact that you are interested in the amelioration of our ecological situation. One can state that ecology knows no boundaries, or rather, that there are no boundaries to the destruction that can be inflicted by another. We hope to undertake, rapidly and effectively, joint endeavors which aim to bring together all the countries around the Baltic basin for cooperation in the protection of the environment. I would like the first step in this direction to be taken during your present visit here Prime Minister.

I wish to propose a toast to the collaboration that awaits us in all spheres, and to the success of our concerted action in the interests of Poland and Sweden, and the whole of Europe.

Mr. Prime Minister, I would like you to know that you are among friends here. Among the people gathered here are those whom you have known for a long time, and those whom you have only met today.

You are among friends Mr. Prime Minister. These people represent the government coalition, our parliamentary system, and the various social forces. Everyone here resolutely supports the restructuring of our state, and measures that will haul it out of the deep economic crisis. I wish you to take this impression back to Sweden, as well as our expressions of friendship and respect which we all feel toward you and your country.

Holds News Conference

AU1610164889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14-15 Oct 89 p 2

[Report signed 'W.K': "The Democratic Changes in Poland Are Important for Europe—Carlsson's News Conference"]

[Text] "The democratic process that has begun in Poland is stimulating, and is of enormous importance for European stability. It enjoys full support from the Swedish Government, a country joined to Poland by long traditions of good relations. Both countries are linked by many matters in common, not to mention problems that need to be solved, concerning the environment and the Baltic issues. One can say that a new stage in mutual relations has begun, which heralds better cooperation."

That is the view of Poland and of the chances of contacts between two Baltic neighbors presented by Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson at a news conference for Polish and foreign journalists at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 13 October, following his talks with our politicians.

Replying to numerous questions, the Swedish prime minister noted that the democratic changes in Poland, and the new situation in Europe in general, are permitting a livelier development of the traditionally good relations between both countries. New possibilities are

emerging in the sphere of economy, trade, and environmental protection. There are emergent possibilities concerning Swedish industrial investments in Poland and an exchange of experts in various spheres. I. Carlsson also said that his Friday talks had marked a new quality in dialogue between both countries, which augurs well for the future. Referring to the Polish idea of convening a conference of Baltic countries, he noted that no single country today can solve the problems of environmental protection, which makes it urgent for Poland and Sweden to take the initiative and invite other countries to take part in such a conference.

I. Carlsson said that Western economic aid for Poland is of enormous importance, and Sweden also wishes to take steps in this direction. However, it ought to be stressed that the brunt of the work and the main responsibility rest on Poland.

Replying to a TRYBUNA LUDU question on the prospects of cooperation between the Swedish social democracy and the Polish United Workers Party, I. Carlsson said that during Friday's talks with Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, he had tried to take a closer look at various aspects of the Polish situation, as well as our party's stance toward them. The problem of mutual contacts is broader, and involves cooperation between the Socialist International and some of the East European communist parties that are now undertaking profound reforms. I. Carlsson underlined Swedish social democracy's openness toward international cooperation and toward the consolidation of positive trends in East-West relations.

He also expressed the conviction that in the foreseeable future, neutral countries like Sweden will be needed as stimuli and mediators in international politics.

Departs for Stockholm

LD1410182289 Warsaw PAP in English
1704 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Krakow, Oct. 14: Sweden's Premier Ingvar Carlsson toured Krakow's historical monuments. From Balice Airport he departed for Stockholm onboard a special plane.

Carlsson told PAP: "I met with leading Polish officials and had very interesting political discussions. I invited the Polish premier to pay an official visit to Sweden. We also held concrete talks on cooperation in natural environment protection. Our experts will tackle this topic more precisely in the coming 10 days."

Kuwaiti Minister Arrives for Visit

Received by Mazowiecki

LD1210045989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Tadeusz Mazowiecki received 'Abd al-Rahman al-Huati, the Kuwaiti minister of public works, who passed to the premier greetings from Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Salim Al Sabah, the crown prince and head of the government of Kuwait. [passage omitted]

Signs Cooperation Protocol

LD1310122689 Kuwait KUNA in English
1117 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 13 (KUNA)—Kuwait's Minister of Public Works 'Abd al-Rahman al-Huti concluded his official visit to Poland, by signing a protocol of cooperation, after talks he held with Polish Minister of Building and Construction, Aleksandr Paszynski.

An official information source said that the protocol aims (?at enhancing) ways of cooperation in the economic and housing fields.

The source added that the Kuwaiti minister and his accompanying delegation held talks wilth senior officials of the Polish construction firms, on the potential to broaden their presence in the Kuwaiti market.

The Kuwaiti delegation has expressed keen desire to employ more Polish experts in all sectors, the source noted.

Paszynski has accepted an invitation to visit Kuwait.

Al-Huti had wound up a five-day visit to Poland last night

Poland, Qatar Establish Diplomatic Relations

LD1610204589 Warsaw PAP in English
1806 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 16—The Governments of the Polish People's Republic and the State of Qatar established diplomatic relations on the ambassadorial level, being guided by the desire to strengthen friendship and cooperation between the two countries, the Foreign Ministry's Department of the Press and Information says.

Walesa: Reforms 'Go in Right Direction'

LD1210215589 Warsaw PAP in English
2150 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Gdansk, Oct. 12—Lech Walesa held his weekly conference for Polish and foreign newsmen here today.

Asked to comment on Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov's statement concerning the composition of Poland's delegation to a meeting of the Warsaw Treaty's Political Consultative Committee, Walesa said he does not interpret it as an invitation for the meeting—although he would be glad to receive such invitation—but as a confirmation that the USSR does not intend to address itself to this question.

Walesa also confirmed that his visit to South Korea in 1990 is in the course of preparations.

The reforms go in the right direction, said Walesa, though we start them at the wrong moment. The hitherto political system has led to an economic collapse. But there is no turning back today and every system would have to undertake exactly what the Mazowiecki government is doing in the economy only that society probably would not permit any other government to embark upon so painful a process.

This is not a propaganda trick—assured Walesa in reply to a question about realness of the threat of civil war—for already now one can see the moods of people coming back from shopping.

Asked about talks with Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson due on October 13, Walesa said: I must say I am not satisfied with this cooperation. Sweden, the whole of Scandinavia, supported us when we were fighting for changes in Poland. And now that these changes are taking place, hand-clapping is all we get.

Assessing repercussions of Polish reforms in neighbouring socialist countries, Walesa stressed that these transformations are not directed against anybody but "for" and "with": for freedom, pluralism, progress, with everybody who also strives for them. We do not take anything from anybody, he said. We only try to make economic levels equal because this leads to the opening of borders, to the building of one Europe.

Solidarity Leader Denies Retirement Rumors

LD1410131389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Ladies and Gentlemen, Lech Walesa is one of the most popular people in Poland, and not just for political reasons. He has the gift of persuasion, even if he cannot make use of facts. Let us listen to a conversation with the Solidarity leader by Andrzej Jelenski, who has been a friend of Walesa's for quite some time now. Our reporter got 2 minutes:

[Begin recording] [Jelenski] Chairman Lech Walesa announced his withdrawal from political life recently. How much truth is there in that?

[Walesa] Sir, the media broadcast it without understanding my meaning. I said I could now see better people, wiser people. All that's true, even in this room here and elsewhere, but that did not mean giving up or withdrawing; the struggle continues.

[Jelenski] How do you see the possibility of combating Polish Poverty?

[Walesa] By work, above all by Poles. This example of mine, with the cycle race, the Telethon and single cyclist, make a thorough study of that, and we can see there how we should be working.

[Jelenski] What did you talk about with Edward Rowny today?

[Walesa] That it would be good for everybody if a few tanks and guns were exchanged for bread.

[Jelenski] In a few weeks, you will be off to Chile and the United States. You are to get a special welcome in the United States.

[Walesa] The 2 minutes are up. [laughter] [end recording]

Tokyo TV Interviews Solidarity's Walesa on Reform

OW1310144489 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 1135 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Interview with Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa by an unidentified NHK correspondent on 13 October, from the NHK "News Today" program; Walesa's remarks in Polish, with Japanese subtitles provided on the screen; place of interview not specified—recorded]

[Text] Solidariry Chairman Walesa played a key role in Solidarity's victory in the June elections and the inception of the Mazowiecki government. The chairman was interviewed about his views on reform in Poland in the past month and moves for reform in Eastern Europe. [Video shows Walesa seated in a room]

[Correspondent] How do you assess the Mazowiecki government?

[Walesa] Activities of the new government have produced results which other governments in the past could not achieve. It removed price controls and reformed the economic system. This reform resulted in inflation and a low living standard, and is causing a backlash among the people. However, the living standard cannot be drastically improved, and it is important not to give up the reform. The government should seriously respond to the people's desires, and it is necessary for the government to supply the people with correct information to make them understand the need for patience.

[Correspondent] How do you assess moves for reform in East Germany and Hungary?

[Walesa] Each nation faces a different situation, and it is necessary for each to find its own path. Among other things, it is important to reform the economic system and introduce technology on a step-by-step basis. It is also important to introduce computer- and eletronics-related technologies and to bring back the original market system. Although the paths to be pursued vary from nation to nation, they have the same aim.

PZPR '8 July' Reform Group 'Not a Party'

AU1310163389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Oct 89 p 4

[Interview with Leszek Jaskiewicz, secretary of the PZPR Committee at Warsaw University and head of the

"8 July Movement" coordinating team, by Ewa Rosolak and Waldemar Mickiewicz: "A Party Within a Party?"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Rosolak, Mickiewicz] A Western newspaper has written that the party congress should be preceded by two other congresses: a congress for social democrats, that is, one involving the "8 July Movement," and one for the Marxists—a National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ] forum for working people. So, are you creating a party within a party?

[Jaskiewicz] We do indeed plan to hold a meeting of "8 July Movement" participants before the 11th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Congress. The next meeting is scheduled for Wednesday 11 October. I do not know what will happen at the meeting and what the outcome will be. However, our movement was formed to express opposition to what was going on in the party. It was launched by a group of people that did not accept the stagnation within the party. They were seeking to have a party congress held as quickly as possible and to create a new party of the left.

We also launched the initiative in order to have a "clear conscience." We did not want to simply look at what was going on and make suggestions, but to change the party through our own actions; a party that was, in our opinion, failing to keep pace with the times. It rapidly transpired that our initiative was welcomed by hundreds of people and many party organizations all over Poland. It has surpassed all the expectations of those who launched it.

[Rosolak, Mickiewicz] However, do you intend to set up your own party?

[Jaskiewicz] I do not know what will happen at the upcoming meeting. The movement brings together many people who have clear ideas of their own and hold various views that are critical of the functioning of the PZPR. Our movement has reached a point where it must make a decision. If the upcoming meeting amounts to no more than speeches, which enjoy more or less success, it may collapse. However, it may make some political decisions that will give it a permanent place within the party and on the Polish political scene.

Does this mean that there would have to be a decision to create a separate party? I do not think so. Representatives of the movement are already working on the congress commission. Our main request, that the congress should not be delayed, has already been satisfied. Many of our other suggestions have also been accepted. They include the suggestion that representatives of a variety of political platforms should be present at the congress, that the elections should be direct, that is, elections that in a way bypass the apparatus ....

[Rosolak, Mickiewicz] Judging by the documents that you have drawn up, you seem to have a vague program.

[Jaskiewicz] I would like to say once again that we are not a party, but a movement within the party. So far, nothing has happened that would warrant discussion about setting up a party and, in my opinion, there is little reason why this should be necessary. However, I do not accept that we have vague aims.

[Rosolak, Mickiewicz] So, what do you advocate? What is your program?

[Jaskiewicz] We support the idea of a parliamentary party that would also be a social and political movement that would rally broad circles around it. It would be party that seeks power solely by way of elections. We exclude the use of force as a means of assuming power in the country.

We do not go along with those people who are inclined to view the present parliamentary system as something temporary, dictated by circumstances, that can be replaced by a one-party system when conditions are different. So, we are for winning public support. This means that we are also in favor of the internal structuring of the party, of changing the party into one that subordinates the principles according to which it operates to the goal of winning the support of voters.

[Rosolak, Mickiewicz] Who are you aiming at? What kind of interests do you want to represent? What kind of social values do you advocate?

[Jaskiewicz] We want to set up a permanent programmatic council at Wednesday's [11 October] meeting at Warsaw University. Speaking for myself, I can say that one is aiming at people who hold left-wing views in all communities, and workers and members of the intelligentsia in particular, although we want to represent the interests of all working people. We are against driving a wedge between workers and the intelligentsia. They have common social interests and a similar social position. Our position is that freedom and social status cannot be "rationed out" according to what one has. This cannot be allowed to replace the political rationing that existed until recently. Workers and members of the intelligentsia surely agree that wealth should not determine one's social position.

Next, we are appealing to the individual, and we want to protect him, to ensure justice. Of course, this is not a question of some crude form of egalitarianism, but of justice in the form of creating equal opportunities regarding access to science, education, and culture and to participation in social and economic life. That is why we support local self-administration and employee self-management.

In my opinion, I do not think that you can eliminate equality from the left-wing value system. It is a highly attractive left-wing value. However, this does not mean that it should be given a vulgar form, be reduced to the slogan "we all have the same stomach."

The most important and most difficult question is that of defining one's position with respect to ownership issues. In general, I think that every party in Poland will ultimately have to define its position. As far as I know, our movement has not worked out a complete, detailed position on this very matter, although there are certain ideas that seem to predominate. For example, one such idea is that ownership forms should ensure that assets are used in a highly productive way and ensure that the highest skills and most efficient managerial methods are employed. So, there should be no more talk of "nobody's" property. On the other hand, the solution cannot be total privatization, which would mean that ownership and inheritance would bestow the "right" to determine the freedom and place of individuals and entire social groups in the political and social life of the country.

The search for solutions should take place in the area between these two extremes. The idea of "enfranchising direct producers" as a starting-point for changes in ownership seems to be closest to the values of the left as we understand them.

One could say a lot about the social values that the left has traditionally fought for. They are particularly attractive in Poland, which has a workers' movement tradition going back 100 years, and, above all, they correspond to the interests of large social groups.

[Rosolak, Mickiewicz] So, would this be a social democratic current?

[Jaskiewicz] I am against putting labels on things, or substituting a "key" for thoughts and proposals. Inflation is not only raging in the economy: We are also witnessing verbal inflation today. Quite simply, we want to draw on all the experiences of the left. We want to employ everything that get the country out of the current crisis and realize public aspirations.

[Rosolak, Mickiewicz] Would it not be just another Polish idealistic movement? The only difference being that it would be within the party, which took a long time to learn realism while governing and has had to travel a long road before shedding its illusions and dogmas?

[Jaskiewicz] No, it is not idealism. The country is facing a dramatic shake-up and even those who are initiating it cannot predict the social effects. It is being said that unemployment will reach upward of 10, 20 percent, or even more. It is being forecast that the population's standard of living might drop by as much as 30 percent. One has to lack social imagination in order to passively accept such a state of affairs, to, as someone said, substitute "pity for justice."

This indicates how great the need for left wing social and political forces is. The country needs them as it needs air. In general, it has to be said that the new party should be built from below, because that is where serious things are going to happen, and that is the place from where strength and programmatic inspiration should be drawn.

In very general terms, one can say that the new party of the left that should replace the PZPR—if it is to be a real force in elections and acquire the legitimacy to govern—has to become clearly involved the future of the nation and of large social groups. The PZPR has great traditions of this kind, although they are currently dismissed by our political opponents. The PZPR and its forerunners took possession of and managed the western and northern territories. It was under PZPR governments that the nation became highly educated and skilled. It was in postwar Poland that society, which has admittedly rejected the party now, developed into a civic society with a high level of political maturity, maturity that was so great that the PZPR itself could not absorb it in time.

[Rosolak, Mickiewicz] Therefore, one should abandon the idea of a "state party" in favor of an ordinary party with a specified social base and left-wing attributes?

[Jaskiewicz] We are not concerned with being a "state party." We want to be a modern political party, establishing and implementing state ideals and interests in Poland. In addition, it is my personal conviction that not only the parties and political forces that are in power should think in terms of the state, but also those parties and political forces that serve or stem from the opposition. The new left-wing party that will take the place of the PZPR should have and should represent a clear vision of the Polish raison d'etat, even when in opposition.

This is straightforward because, during the many years of rule, huge numbers of party members have realized the restrictions on a country in Poland's situation.

[Rosolak, Mickiewicz] Once again you are propagating the illustrious "geopolitical factor."

[Mickiewicz] It is not my concern whether or not that is being propagated. My concern is that Poland does not have and will not have any other situation. Poland has to be defended within the borders it possesses and in the region in which it is situated. It is necessary to draw conclusions from history and realize that Poland might once again find itself eye-to-eye with a united Germany. Would a united Germany pursue the same policy that the present Germany is pursuing on the road to unification? Is Poland to face an enormous neighbor once again?

For 45 years the party safeguarded state security. But can one harbor the illusion that this security is granted to us once and for all?

I am opposed to overestimating the geopolitical factor or scaring people with it. However, one cannot shut one's eyes to the irresponsibility of those who wish to revise Poland—and Yalta. Is it not ridiculous that these people see no connection between territorial claims vis-a-vis the east and territorial claims vis-a-vis Poland's western border? As far as Poland's borders are concerned, Yalta and Potsdam are sacred. They are a canon of our foreign

policy. However, as far as restrictions on Poland's sovereignty are concerned, Yalta and Potsdam do not exist.

In Poland, just like in any other country, a serious party that aspires to power must take into account fundamental state and national interests. Therefore, it has to be a "state" party to a certain extent. Thus, left-wingedness in Poland is determined by friendship and by cooperation with the socialist countries, mainly the USSR. Only this way can one safeguard an independent statehood in future. Of course, the purpose is not just declared friendship, but genuine friendship that expresses a communion of interests; friendship between sovereign, independent states and peoples.

Swiecicki Views First Duties as Minister

AU1310134189 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Oct 89 p 1

[Interview with Marcin Swiecicki, minister of foreign economic cooperation, by Tadeusz Bartoszewicz: "A Wider Opening to the World"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Bartoszewicz] Let me ask you a stereotyped question, the same one I have asked other members of the government: What was you first decision?

[Swiecicki] I do not remember exactly, but I think I decided not to make any personnel changes to the Ministry's secretariat. I discovered that the secretariat had been working well and that, given my somewhat untidy style of work and tendency to keep paper in all possible places, it would prevent me from getting lost.

[Bartoszewicz] Immediately after assuming office, you entered a maelstrom of international politics.

[Swiecicki] Yes. On my second day in office, I received the Austrian vice chancellor. A few days later, Minister K. Skubiszewski [of foreign affairs] and I signed our first trade agreement with the EEC, preceded by talks with Minister R. Dumas and F. Andriessen, deputy chairman of the EEC Commission. On the same day, I held talks with U.S. Trade Secretary R. Mosbacher, and signed with him a previously-prepared agreement on cooperation between private economic sectors. The talks with the American administration proceeded so well that the U.S. trade secretary decided to extend his stay in Poland by 1 day in order to agree with us on a joint communique expressing the intention of both governments to conclude a general agreement on economic cooperation between Poland and the United States. A few days later, the premier sent me to Brussels, where I presented our government's memorandum concerning aid for Poland from 24 countries.

[Bartoszewicz] In other words, during your first few days, you were so busy you had no time for work.

[Swiecicki] On the contrary. I took care of dozens of matters and had a huge number of talks with people on various levels, mainly businessmen. I have several meeting like this every day. Apart from that, I had to prepare a ministerial stance on various current topics, of which there is a multitude. I must say that the ministry's apparatus is very efficient. Nevertheless, it should not be completely engulfed by current matters. After all, very major issues are ahead of us.

[Bartoszewicz] Such as?

[Swiecicki] Such as the preparations for the convertibility of the zloty. Although this is also the task of the Polish National Bank and Finance Ministry, our ministry feels particularly responsible for this because it possesses major importance for foreign trade. Convertibility will free us of many features of "manual control," for example the distribution of foreign currency. The second major issue is an alteration of the principles that govern our trade with the USSR and other CEMA countries.

[Bartoszewicz] Exactly. What kind of alteration? There are various rumors that trade with the USSR has been our best line of business until now.

[Swiecicki] We are preparing for the general public a report on our economic relations with the socialist countries. We want independent experts to be able to present their views on this subject. At the same time, we are working on a change to the present model of economic relations. We want to switch over to trade that is calculated in foreign currency and enterprises that are independent, with less importance attached to international agreements and trade protocols. However, preliminary investigations show that adopting the settlement of accounts in foreign currency would place extra burdens on our economy because the USSR can sell its fuels and raw materials for convertible currency anywhere in the world without difficulty, whereas it would be difficult, for the time being at any rate, to sell on foreign currency markets some of the products that we currently export to the USSR. This is because some of our enterprises that export to the Soviet Union have had guaranteed recipients of their products for many years, and have never displayed the initiative to improve the quality and modernity of their products. When our Soviet partners start paying in dollars, no one knows if they will buy our goods. Selling these goods in the West would be even more difficult. Therefore, switching over to trade in convertible currency will force our economy to improve the quality of products. However, in the transitory stage one should expect resistance, though some of our enterprises that are presently compelled to export to the USSR would prefer to export elsewhere.

[Bartoszewicz] When do you expect the settlement of accounts with socialist countries in convertible currency to be adopted?

[Swiecicki] In view of the agreements already concluded, this cannot happen sooner than 1991. We are still bound by the 5-year agreements which expire at the end of

1990. However I do not rule out the possibility of settling more accounts in convertible currency in 1990.

[Bartoszewicz] Do you plan to make any major personnel changes in the ministry and in subordinate agencies?

[Swiecicki] I want to alter the staff selection criteria. I have in mind an influx of new cadres to the ministry on the basis of competition. I would like there to be at least two applicants for each foreign post. The ministry has just established what qualifications are required for each foreign post. Now we must see to it that these posts are only occupied by people with the right qualifications. As we know, this has not always been the case until now.

Jaruzelski Meets With Krakow Renovation Leaders

LD1410022789 Warsaw PAP in English 2210 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 13—President Wojciech Jaruzelski received today head of the Public Committee for Renovation of Cracow's Historical Monuments and President of the Board of the Jagiellonian University Foundation Henryk Jablonski and President of the Board of the "Renovation of Historical Cracow" Foundation Kazimierz Secomski, who briefed the president on the work of their organizations and presented chief problems of the public work on preserving and renovating the historical buildings and monuments of that city.

Jaruzelski fully appreciated the achievements and plans of the three organizations, and expressed deep concern with the state of Cracow's historical monuments and with the projects counterating the ecological threats.

Geremek News Conference on First 100 Days

LD0910210589 Warsaw PAP in English 1945 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 9—This parliament should become a Polish constituent assembly. The coming weeks will see draft amendments to the constitution and a draft law on amnesty. Radio and television should be a state institution controlled by parliament. The state of the economy, routine of the existing power structures, social fatigue are the most severe threats—these are highlights from a conference held by chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group (OKP) Bronislaw Geremek here today. The conference summed up the hundred days since the elections and dealt with the immediate OKP plans.

According to Geremek, that which was accomplished in that period is too little in relation to society's wishes but on the other hand, it is very much. The system of wielding power in Poland is changing, the government has been formed by the political forces that speak for the nation. The state which used to be the monopoly of one party is beginning to be the property of the nation.

Among the most important changes Geremek listed overcoming the monopoly of one party in the judiciary, army, police and mass media.

The greatest threat, in the OKP chairman's opinion, is the condition of the economy: ruined, with defective mechanisms and an empty state treasury. We expect the government, Geremek said, to provide a report on the state of treasury and signals proving that the economy is changing for the better.

Social fatigue, the feeling that nothing depends on people also constitutes a threat, Geremek added.

The OKP chairman outlined a "calendar of democratic changes", that is the OKP-planned legislative initiatives. It is an urgent need to amend the constitution, in a restricted scope for the time being, to remove from it that which hinders the functioning of the state. In the coming weeks the draft should be filed with the Sejm. Next we want to take up, together with other caucuses, the initiative to write a new constitution so that the present parliament can become a Polish constituent assembly he said.

Restoration of the economic law is also an urgent matter, Geremek said. The OKP will strive for a new law on local self-government and a new electoral law in the coming weeks which would permit early elections to local self-governments.

The OKP resolved to submit the issue of the amnesty law to immediate legislative procedure. A commission is already working on the draft. For the time being, the OKP has unexpectedly become a mediator in one of the most acute conflicts in recent weeks, namely strikes and riots in prisons.

Rural Solidarity Statement on Food Market

LD1610202889 Warsaw PAP in English 1730 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 16—The Press Bureau of the Provisional National Council of Rural Solidarnosc has sent a statement to PAP, which reads in part: In connection with the tense situation on the food market, the Presidium of Rural Solidarnosc states that the only way of improving the situation is to create the best opportunities for investment and output growth for farmers.

Excessively burdening the countryside with the costs of overcoming the crisis must lead to a situation in which farmers will decrease investments and production.

The farmers are ready to make sacrfices to back the efforts of the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki. All sacrifices can however only pertain to the living standard and not the level of investment.

We repeat once again. In order for Poland to emerge from the crisis, the level of investment in the countryside must be maintained and even boosted, in other case food

production will drop and nothing will save us from a catastrophe, the statement said.

OPZZ Stages Protest Rally Near Sejm

LD1310192989 Warsaw PAP in English 1715 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 13: An All-Poland protest rally organized by the OPZZ (All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions) was staged in front of the Sejm building here today. The demonstration was provoked by violation of the law on trade unions while adopting the budget law and by the government's failure to consider the OPZZ proposals on amending the law on indexation.

The rally is to make deputies realize the enormity of threats for a Polish family stemming from the critical economic situation in the country, in particular from galloping and uncontrolled price hikes, OPZZ leaders Alfred Miodowicz, present at the rally, told journalists.

According to the OPZZ, Miowodicz added, neither the government nor anybody in the country can shun responsibility for price policy. We are not for a central model of setting prices, but we are for severe monitoring of all these cases when rejections, bad organization of work or bureaucracy are made up for by unjustified growth of prices.

A delegation of participants in the demonstration conveyed to the Sejm speaker a petiton which stated, among other things, that the trade unions grouped in the OPZZ expressed deep concern about galloping price rises for stable food articles which results in a drastic restriction of consumption for a considerable part of employees and of old-age and disability pensioners.

Lublin Students Boycott Military Classes

LD1710203289 Warsaw PAP in English 1906 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Lublin, Oct. 17—A boycott of students' military training began in Lublin, eastern Poland in response to an appeal issued by the National Coordinating Commission of the NZS [Independent Association of University Students] independent student union.

Of the four universities in the city, two, namely Maria Curie Sklodowska University and the Agricultural Academy, have joined the boycott.

Internal Affairs Teams To Investigate Killings

LD1310223289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Following today's session of the Sejm, the extraordinary commission for the investigation of activities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs held a short meeting. It was decided that seven teams of deputies—into which the commission divided itself—will urgently begin to examine in detail a report of 93 killings which was mentioned by deputy Tadeusz Kowalczyk. Experts will also take part in the work of the deputies' teams. Plenary meeting of the commission will only be held when any of the teams is ready to report on the examined matters.

RZECZPOSPOLITA Chief Replaced

LD1410222289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, acting on the resolution of the Minister-head of the office of the Council of Ministers, has recalled Janusz Durmala from the post of director and editor-in-chief of the RZECZPOSPOLITA daily and entrusted Dariusz Fikus with this post.

Ceausescu Receives U.S. Commission Members

AU1310160989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1114 GMT 13 Oct 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Receives U.S. Participants in the Joint Reunion of the Steering Committees of the Romanian-American Economic Council"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 13/10/1989—On October 12 President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania received the U.S. participants in the Joint Reunion of the Steering Committees of the Romanian-American Economic Council, proceeding in Bucharest.

On behalf of the attending U.S. businessmen, President Nicolae Ceausescu was addressed by I.C.C. Industries Inc. Chairman John Farber, deputy chairman of the U.S. Section of the Council, warm thanks for the interview granted and for the chance to discuss ways and concrete solutions meant to contribute to expanding and diversifying the collaboration between the U.S. firms and companies and the Romanian enterprises [sentence as received].

President Nicolae Ceausescu welcomed the participants in the reunion and expressed the hope that this reunion, the talks under way would contribute to finding new opportunities to expand the collaboration between the two countries.

During the interview President Nicolae Ceausescu talked at length about the current stage and the prospects of development of the economic cooperation and commercial exchanges between Romania and the U.S.A. In this framework the need was stressed for action with a view to implementing the provisions of the long-term commercial accord concluded in 1975, inclusive of the mutual exchanges, for the general development of the Romanian-U.S. relations based on the principles of fully equal rights, respect and national sovereignty, noninterference in the domestic affairs and mutual advantage, and this was considered to meet the interests of both Romania and the United States and to be in step with the general tendencies of the international life in point of removing barriers and restrictions from the economic and other relations among states.

Presenting the prospects of development of Romania's economy and international economic relations, Nicolae Ceausescu showed that this country planned to expand its collaboration with all the states, therefore also with the United States, with firms and companies in the U.S.A. In a number of important domains, for the materialization of units in third countries included, in developing ones in particular. Romania was pointed out to double its foreign trade by the year 2000, this offering fine prospects to the collaboration between the Romanian enterprises and the U.S. firms and companies.

Considering the activity carried out by the Romanian-American Economic Council, President Nicolae Ceausescu showed that joint action was necessary with a view to ensuring ever wider collaboration in all the domains.

In conclusion President Nicolae Ceausescu wished success to the reunion as well as fine collaboration to the Romanian enterprises and the U.S. firms in order to contribute to the general development of the relations between Romania and the U.S.A.

Participating were Gheorghe Oprea, Stefan Andrei and Ioan Ungur.

Larry Napper, U.S. charge d'affaires ad interim in Bucharest, was present.

Ceausescu Sends Message to PRC's Yang Shangkun

AU0910142289 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Oct 89 p 5

[Cable from President Nicolae Ceausescu to PRC President Yang Shangkun "On the 40th Anniversary of the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the PRC"]

[Text] To Comrade Yang Shangkun, PRC president

On the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the PRC, I take particular pleasure in extending, on behalf of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], the Romanian Government and people, and on my own behalf, cordial comradely greetings to you and the other comrades of friendly China's party and state leadership, together with best wishes.

An expression of our mutual desire to consolidate the traditional relations of cooperation and solidarity between the RCP and CPC and between the revolutionary and democratic forces in the two countries, the establishment of diplomatic relations immediately after the proclamation of the PRC marked an event of great importance for strengthening and developing friendship and cooperation between our countries, parties, and peoples at a higher level.

Our party and state, and the whole Romanian nation highly appreciate the positive relations between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the PRC which, durably based on the principles of full equality of rights, constant respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, and comradely assistance, have experienced a constantly upward trend in all areas over the past 40 years. I want to emphasize with great satisfaction the particular significance of our mutual visits and summit meetings both in Bucharest and in Beijing, meetings which, through the understandings concluded, each time gave a fresh and strong impetus to fruitful Romanian-Chinese cooperation.

I want to take this opportunity to express once again our party's and state's determination and the determination of the Romanian people to continue to firmly work, so that Romanian-Chinese relations of friendship and cooperation will develop more and more vigorously to the benefit and in the interest of both countries and peoples, and of the general cause of socialism, progress, and peace throughout the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

PRC President's Greetings

AU0910142389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Oct 89 p 5

[Message from PRC President Yang Shangkun to Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu "On the 40th Anniversary of the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the PRC"]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

On the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the PRC and the Socialist Republic of Romania, I want to extend, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people and on my own behalf, warm congratulations to you and through you to the Romanian Government and people, together with best wishes.

Romania is one of the first countries which established diplomatic relations with new China. The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Romania reflected our common desire to develop relations of friendship and cooperation between the peoples who have become masters of their destiny, thus writing a new page in the chronicle of relations between the two countries.

In the 40 years since the establishment of diplomatic relations, our countries have always proved friendship, trust, and mutual assistance both regarding the cause of the revolution and socialist construction and regarding the joint struggle for protecting each one's state sovereignty and for preserving world peace. Our relations of friendship and cooperation in all areas have gone through vigorous and many-sided development, while Chinese-Romanian friendship has deeply entered the hearts of our peoples. The mutual visits and frequent meetings between the party and state leaders of our countries have constantly raised Chinese-Romanian relations of friendship to a higher level.

The development of relations between our countries in these 40 years fully demonstrates that the relations of friendship and cooperation between China and Romania, based on the principles of interstate relations—mutual respect for territorial sovereignty and integrity, nonaggression, noninterference in domestic affairs, equality and mutual advantage, and peaceful coexistence—are full of vitality and withstand the trials of time. Such relations are not only in the interest of the Chinese and Romanian peoples, but also in the interest of the cause of socialism and world peace. The Chinese people particularly value friendship, solidarity, and cooperation with the Romanian people and will do all they can, as they have done so far, so that relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries will experience a many-sided, constant, stable, and intensive development.

May Chinese-Romanian friendship last for ever!

May the Socialist Republic of Romania flourish and prosper!

Yang Shangkun, PRC president

Totu Exchanges Messages

AU1010161589 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Oct 89 p 5

[Text] On the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of China, an exchange of messages took place between the Romanian foreign minister, Ioan Totu, and the minister of foreign affairs of the PRC, Qian Qichen. Satisfaction with the progress of the relations of friendship that have developed so far between the two countries, parties, and peoples, as well as the joint wish to continue to develop and consolidate Romanian-Chinese cooperation, both on a bilateral plane and in the international arena, have been expressed in the messages.

PRC Party Activists Visit, Meet Barbulescu

AU0810185689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1720 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 8/10/1989—Over September 28-October 6, a delegation of activists of the Chinese Communist Party, headed by Dong Jichang, member of the CC [Central Committee] of the CPC, deputy secretary of the Shanxi Provincial Committee of the CPC, paid a visit to swap experience in Romania, as guests of the CC of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party].

The delegation had talks at the CC of the RCP, Brasov and Dimbovita County Committees of the RCP, visited industrial and farming units, research institutes, socio-cultural establishments in the capital and in Brasov, Dimbovita and Calarasi Counties.

At the end of the visit, the Chinese guests were received by Vasile Barbulescu, secretary of the CC of the RCP. During the talks on the occasion, satisfaction was expressed at the evolution of the friendly and cooperative links between the two parties and countries, in

keeping with and on the basis of summit agreements, to the benefit and in the interests of the (?two countries), of socialism and peace.

Attending the interview, was Wang Jingqing, ambassador of People's China in Bucharest.

Ceausescu Receives British Parliamentarian

AU1010210889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2010 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 10/10/1989—On 10 October, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received Lord Francis Newall, member of the Defence Commission of the British Parliament, member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, who is paying a visit to Romania at the invitation of the Grand National Assembly.

The guest thanked for the interview granted, for the possibility of visiting Romania and getting acquainted with the achievements of the Romanian people in the economic, social and cultural development of their country.

During the interview stress was laid on the relations established between Romania and Great Britain, on the possibilities of expanding them on multiple planes, on the basis of the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage, for the benefit of both peoples, of the cause of peace, understanding and cooperation in Europe and the world over. Emphasis was also placed on the conditions that exist to further economic, technical and scientific cooperation, increase and diversify trade, as well as on the need to finalize the contracts concluded.

Current aspects of the world political life were also approached. President Nicolae Ceausescu pointed to the particular significance of strengthening cooperation among the states of the European continent to the end of building a Europe of peace, understanding and cooperation. In that framework, the need was emphasized for the assertion of a new policy in the world arena, which should exclude the imperialist circles' interference in the domestic affairs of other states, their actions of destabilizing socialist countries and of denigrating socialism, expressing the conviction that these states could not be diverted from their socialist development path.

Special attention was paid to the questions related to the elimination of the use and threat of force from the international life to the peaceful, negotiated settlement of the states of tension and conflict existing in various regions of the world, to the establishment of a climate of detente, security, confidence, international cooperation and peace.

The interview was attended by Lt. Gen. Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defense and secretary of the Higher Political Council of the Armed Forces, vice chairman of the Defense Commission of the Grand National Assembly.

UN Delegate Outlines Position on World Economy

AU1010190189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1823 GMT 10 Oct 89

["Romanian Representative's Address to UNCTAD"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Geneva, AGERPRES, 10/10/1989—Taking the floor during the general debates of the trade and development board's session in Geneva, the Romanian representative set forth Romania's position on the world economic situation and the directions of action for the restructuring of the international economic and financial relations on equitable bases.

The speaker referred to the tendency of slackening world economic growth, to the deterioration of the majority developing countries' situation and the widening of the economic gaps between them and the developed states. The foreign debt crisis, the reverse transfer of financial resources from developing countries to the developed ones and to the international financial institutions, the persistence of protectionism and the deterioration of the developing countries' exchange ratio, he said, are as many factors which negatively bear on the evolution and perspectives of the world economy, more particularly affecting the lagging countries' possibilities for progress. Emphasis was placed on the demand to consolidate international cooperation with a view to surmounting the difficulties facing the world economy and especially the developing countries, to revitalize economic growth, liquidate underdevelopment and establish a new world economic order.

The imperative was underscored to strictly observe each country's right to choose its socioeconomic development path, without any outside interference.

The speaker showed that UNCTAD, with its universal, democratic and large mandate, was called upon to make a growing contribution to solving the serious problems of the world economy. The need was underlined to give up the tendency of granting priority credits to the private sector since bigger aid should be given, through credits, to the socioeconomic development based on state and cooperative property which ensures the real independence of a people and better meets its requirements.

Special attention was paid to the demand to work for the establishment of an open, non-discriminatory international trade system based on equitable rules apt to better satisfy the developing countries' needs and facilitate a speeded-up economic growth of all states. In this context, of special importance would be the successful conclusion of multilateral trade negotiations within the "Uruguay round", the improvement of the generalized

system of preferences in favour of the developing countries and the elimination of commercial and economic restrictions applied on political reasons.

Concrete measures should also be taken to facilitate the developing countries' access to advanced technologies on equitable terms as well as to assist them in strengthening their technical and scientific potential.

RCP CC Plenum To Convene 25-26 Oct

AU1210185789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 12 Oct 89

["Calling of the Plenary Meeting of the CC of the RCP"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 12/10/1989—It was announced in Bucharest on Thursday that the plenary meeting of the Central Committee (CC) of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) was called [as received] on October 25 and 26.

The calling of the plenary meeting was decided by the Executive Political Committee of the CC of RCP, which held a meeting the same day under the chairmanship of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu.

Ceausescu Visits Agriculture Institute 10 Oct

AU1010210389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2012 GMT 10 Oct 89

[""President Nicolae Ceausescu Visits Trade Units in Bucharest"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/10/1989—Continuing the analyses made the previous days, meant to bring about a radical improvement of activity in trade, Tuesday, 10 October, the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] General Secretary and President of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu saw round [as received] market places and agroindustrial trading complexes in Bucharest.

This visit too was an opportunity to examine, in representative units, the way in which steps are taken to implement self-sufficiency programmes, for the further improvement of citizens' supply.

It cast light on the efficiency of the measures set previously to radically change the way in which the trading network, the whole mechanism through which consumer goods, alimentary ones in particular, are sold to the population functioned, while rigorously observing self-sufficiency programmes.

During the visit the measures were presented taken for a rhythmical supply of market places with fresh products, for the processing of the vegetables and fruits harvested this year. Likewise, in commercial complexes and public catering units, the steps were presented undertaken for supplying and selling alimentary products to the population, for ensuring a wide and diversified range of products. In market places and in units selling vegetables and fruit one can note an abundance of high quality products, many of them being packed and sorted, displayed appropriately. The units selling meat and meat products, as well as cheese were supplied with larger quantities of packed products, with fresh fish, canned fish and fish preparations.

During the visit the party general secretary asked decisionmakers to further take the necessary measures and ensure an improved organization and supply to the population, in keeping with the provisions of the approved programme. Starting from what he noted in market places and commercial complexes, the party general secretary asked that further action be taken for a better organization of their supply, and that producer cooperative farms and state agricultural enterprises in limitrophe counties have selling stalls, permanently, rhythmically and abundantly supplied with a great variety of products.

As for meat and meat and fish preparations, it was recommended that a greater variety of products be ensured, including beef and chicken, of salami and sausages, all packed, so that sales be civilized and fast.

It was requested that all the basic products be found in alimentary shops, a minimal list having to be worked out to this end.

In the units selling bread and pastry, the party general secretary recommended that bread should be prepared at a high quality level, that several kinds of bread and pastry should be permanently found in shops.

During the visit to food preparing units questions were discussed related to the further development and modernization of this sector of the food industry on which sensibly greater tasks are incumbent in the period ahead. Appreciating the achievements of so far and the efforts made lately, President Nicolae Ceausescu showed that a better organization of the entire activity was necessary so that these units double their production capacity as soon as possible. The need was stressed to expand the modern systems of serving the dishes prepared by specialized units, in canteen-restaurants and snack-bars included, emphasis being placed on the responsibility falling on the people councils. X X X

The same day President Nicolae Ceausescu examined at the Institute of Scientific Research and Technological Engineering for Farm Machinery and Equipment, together with executives and experts in agriculture mechanization and machine building, the way in which tasks and recommendations were fulfilled regarding the manufacture and finalization of the new systems of tractors and farm machinery which should provide for a timely and quality performance of all operations requested by each crop, and with this as a basis, for big productions, in keeping with the requirements and targets of the new agrarian revolution.

Further Reportage on Nonaligned Summit Results

Presidency Adopts Report

AU1310134389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Oct 89 p 1

[TANJUG report: Obligations in the Movement"]

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Oct—At its session today, chaired by President Dr Janez Drnovsek, the SFRY Presidency adopted a report by the Yugoslav delegation on the activities of the Ninth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Nonaligned Countries which was held in Belgrade between the 4 and 8 September this year.

The SFRY Presidency discussed Yugoslavia's future activity in the Nonaligned Movement which would enable our country to fully meet the expectations and duties that stem from its role as the chair country in the movement in the next 3 years.

The Presidency also discussed a number of other current issues connected with Yugoslavia's international position, particularly with regard to its relations with neighbors, as well as its relations with other European countries.

At today's session, the Presidency also discussed some issues concerning the economic situation and the implementation of economic policy in 1989. It was decided that the Presidency would soon discuss the economic situation in the country in its entirety and establish its activities in this connection.

Drnovsek Interviewed on Summit

LD1410213789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1735 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—The standing of Yugoslavia has increased following the ninth nonaligned conference, not only among nonaligned countries, but among the countries of the blocs also, and this is borne out by the fact that almost all the speakers at this year's assembly of the United Nations mentioned the movement and their expectations of its in the future.

Everyone in the world is interested in our stabilizing the economy and the political situation, in the context of the current easing of tension, both in Europe and in the world. Many do not understand what is happening now in Yugoslavia nor why something is happening which is contrary to world processes. This was stated, among other things, by President of the SFRY Presidency Dr Janex Drnovsek, in an interivew this evening to Belgrade television.

We face a decisive period in which we have to cut inflation, but this path should not exacerbate our internal economic and social situation, Drnovsek said.

A great fuss and great polemics were created around the Slovene amendments. Now we should calm these polemics. The federation is continuing to function even after the amendments have been adopted; the state president carrying out his function and in practice there has not been a single clash between federal and republican laws or constitutions. It is in no one's interests for this issue to be exacerbated needlessly, or for it to escalate in the public domain; it is not in the interests of Yugoslavia.

The constitutional principle for work in the presidency is a coordination of views. If in exceptional cases there is no agreement, and a decision must be made, according to our operating rules we make the decision by majority vote. And the decisions are implemented, I, as President, implement the decisions of the Presidency. This is normal, it is beyond discussion.

In a conversation with television editor Goran Milic, President Drnovsek also spoke about Kosovo, interethnic relations, his view of Yugoslavia in the near future, why he speaks different languages on different occasions, and other issues.

The first question related to the foreign policy position of Yugoslavia, in particular following the ninth nonaligned summit and the recent speech by the President of the Yugoslav Presidency at the United Nations.

The position of Yugoslavia in the foreign policy sphere grew after these two events and particularly after the ninth conference of the nonaligned countries in Belgrade, Dr Janez Drnovsek replied. Everywhere the summit is spoken of as having been very successful and everywhere the special role of Yugoslavia at the conference and in the preparations for the conference is highlighted, and everyone takes the view that Yugoslavia contributed to the fact that the summit adopted a realistic tone and that real topics were selected, and that real priorities were set for the Nonaligned Movement. I believe that this conference has gained us a lot of points and a considerable reputation, not only among nonaligned countries. Among some radical countries in the Nonaligned Movement there are some dissonant tones, but I believe that the vast majority are expressing the sort of conviction which I too have now expressed. After the conference, our reputation, in addition to being great among the nonaligned countries, is also great among other factors in the world and among countries in the blocs, in other words, the reactions from all sides are very positive. This was also seen in New York at the UN General Assembly Session, where almost all speakers mentioned both the movement of the nonaligned countries and Yugoslavia, and its role. I believe that my address in the UN General Assembly was very well received, too. Reactions moved within the framework of positive assessments that we began this and that we are performing well our function as president of the movement. So in the external sphere I believe that we have undertaken what we should have undertaken and we have done everything very correctly, and we have a good position here, so expectations of the nonaligned countries, as well as of other factors that we do something in

the North-South dialogue, are very great. At present we have some initiatives so that we might make a contribution to the detente between East and West, which is now in progress. Everywhere it is reckoned that Yugoslavia, as president of the movement, will be present and play a specific role.

The next question related to whether the world approaches Yugoslavia as a whole or whether it sees us as different entities in terms of the republics and provinces, as we often do.

[The world approaches] Yugoslavia as a whole, and I believe this unreservedly, was Dr Drnovsek's reply. I have not yet noticed any other viewpoint. On the contrary, everyone is interested in Yugoslavia as it exists territorially. Everyone is interested in us stabilizing our economy and in our political circumstances. In the present context of the relaxation of tensions, both in Europe and in the world in general, what is now happening in Yugoslavia and why something is happening that runs counter to world processes is quite incomprehensible to many people. After all, world processes make for integration. Europe is becoming more integrated, although the countries are maintaining their national soveriegnty and their national specific characteristics, but in economic and political life they are becoming increasingly integrated. Serious structures in the world believe that Yugoslavia, too, cannot take a different role.

Asked what the view of the Presidency is on the "four figure evil," inflation, Dr Drnovsek replied:

This is a big problem. The Presidency is more frequently dealing with this question. We have considered it at several sessions. We have also considered it on several occasions with Federal Executive Council [FEC] representatives, and we are soon planning a consultative meeting on this issue with the FEC.

We believe and we are convinced that we cannot live long with this kind of inflation and that we are faced with a decisive period in which we must bear down on inflation. It is quite alright for us to change the system, and all the activities which the FEC has so far undertaken in this direction are quite alright, but obviously, we cannot count on restoring efficiency to business operations and on the effect of a better economic system in conditions of high inflation. The signals from the market are confusing. With prices rising in such an uncontrolled way, money is no longer performing its function. Here there is no other choice but for us to confront this inflation. However, we should know that this confrontation will not be pleasant, it has its price, and there will be problems, including social problems. The road to, and method of, combating inflation should not further exacerbate our internal situation, economic and social.

The next question concerns Kosovo.

I hope we are on the road to resolving the situation in Kosovo, Drnovsek said. We have eliminated the great majority of the extraordinary measures in Kosovo. In practical terms there remain only measures banning rallies designed to be demonstrations. In other words, there are no measures which have an impact on daily life and the life of people in Kosovo. I hope that this calm is not only temporary but that it will last. But I am also aware that the problem has not been resolved and that it is necessary for us to do much more. In the first instance, economic action is necessary. I am convinced that the activation of economic development in Kosovo, accompanied by many new jobs, and accompanied by greater employment, would all divert attention from this political and interethnic problem to other crucial problems. If economic prosperity were to be opened up and if people were to sense prospects for their lives, and if an economic turnabout were to be made in Kosovo, I am convinced that things would calm down. Second, I believe it is important and necessary to ensure the completely correct and equitable functioning of the legal system and of all the organs of the state administration. The state must be correct when dealing with all nationalities, regardless of whether they are Albanian, Montenegrins, or Serbs, all should be equal and should feel so. If this were not to happen we would be causing the situation in Kosovo to worsen. After all, it is vital that confidence be established in the state and in other nations and nationalities and that the conditions are created in this way for peaceful life together.

We come to the topic of the constitutional changes in Yugoslavia and to the unavoidable question at this juncture of the Slovene constitutional amendments.

The presidency has intensified its work on the preparations for the new Yugoslav constitution. As far back as a couple of months ago we adopted the decision to set about work on the new constitution. At several sessions we considered working material that would be the basis for the launching of initiatives in the SFRY Assembly. At present, and under the Presidency's leadership, special, expert political groups comprised of representatives of the republics and provinces working, and in accordance with our plan we will, by the end of November, submit a proposal for the elaboration of a new constitution to the SFRY Assembly. Here all important issues should be resolved, from relations between the republics and the federation, the method of the functioning of the federation, and the economic system, to the still open questions of ownership and the question of the electoral system and political pluralism. To my mind it is essential that conditions are created for a more tolerant discussion of all these issues.

Asked to comment further on the situation surrounding the Slovene amendments, the president of the Presidency replied. A great fuss and great polemics were created around Slovene amendments. I think that now we should calm those polemics. I would like to draw attention to the fact that the Federation is still functioning even after the adoption of these amendments, that the Presidency is carrying out its function, that in practice there has not been a single clash between federal

and republican laws or constitutions. It was clear from the Presidency statement what our stance is. Our stance goes without saying—the Federation should function and the Presidency should carry out its tasks within it, like other organs. I think it is important that we now leave it to the Yugoslav Constitutional Court to carry out its tasks without great polemics from the sidelines accompanying this, as it is its constitutional authority to do so. I am convinced that we will then, through dialogue, constructive dialogue, resolve this problem together.

A calming down would certainly be welcome and everyone in Yugoslavia wants this. But, on the other hand, many are afraid that a calming down, with no account taken of League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee decisions, or of the decisions of the SFRY Presidency, which warned that some constitutional amendments were not in accordance with the federal constitution, would perhaps mean a policy of fait accompli, was the next question.

—Well, the procedure and the constitutional method for resolving this situation are well-known, Drnovsek replied. Those statements, recommendations, were given in a preventive sense. The SFRY Presidency drew attention to them, they were an opinion, a recommendation, and now, as I have already said, it is up to the constitutional court to continue the procedure. I do not think it is in anyone's interest to exacerbate this issue needlessly, for it to escalate too much in the public domain; it is not in the interests of Yugoslavia. The principle of our common life in the federation is the process of agreement and I think we should respect that principle and should continue with the process of agreement. The SFRY Presidency has now decided to undertake additional measures with the aim of calming tensions and of promoting constructive agreement in the country.

Thus by as early as the end of this month we will have a session at which we will consider interethnic relations in the country in the presence of the presidents of the republican Presidencies. We are planning visits to the republics and provinces, and in this connection Vice President Jovic will soon visit Slovenia and I will visit Serbia.

These visits of ours, and the talks we will have, should serve to promote dialogue and an attempt to clear up problems through talks and agreement on the right solutions. I think that various opinions, or rather speculations, on the functioning of the Presidency in this situation have been misplaced.

Asked how he resolved differences between his individual opinion and collective membership of the Presidency, how decisions were reached when there was no agreement, Dr Drnovsek answered:

—The constitutional principle of work in the Presidency is the process of coordination. If, in certain exceptional cases, agreement is not reached, and a decision has to be made, in accordance with our operating rules we decide by majority vote. And the decisions are implemented, I, as president, implement the decisions of the Presidency. That is normal, beyond discussion.

Reminding President Drnovsek that at the ninth summit he addressed statesmen in Slovene, at the United Nations in English and that he is now speaking Serbo-Croat, Goran Milic asked why and when the politicians decided to speak a certain language.

The situation is assessed from case to case. There is no general rule. At the summit, for example, although the majority of those present spoke English, for example, it would not be good, and there is no such tradition, if a head of state spoke a foreign language on his own territory. So I chose one of our Yugoslav languages, in that case my own, which I know best and in which I express myself best. That is normal. In this interview of ours, which is intended above all for Yugoslavs I think it right and proper on my part to speak Serbo-Croat. In New York, at the United Nations, it is the custom to speak one of the main language of the world, so I chose English. So, there are no rules, rather we assess each situation.

A variation on that theme—you have made certain moves which have been slightly out of the ordinary. You went to Gazimestan, you went to the Slovene Assembly, when the amendments were being debated in the morning, but not in the afternoon, when they were adopted, if I am not mistaken. You received great applause from citizens of Belgrade when you entered the National Theater and, as I say, you sometimes speak Slovene, sometimes English, here you speak Serbo-Croat, which you are speaking now. Is this your contribution to the breaking down of some of our stereotypes, is it by agreement with the Presidency, or is it your own personal choice, or some sort of compromise in these times of ours, was the next question.

—Above all, I think it is my own choice in the majority of these cases. Sometimes it is very difficult. One cannot make a compromise in our situation, someone will always criticize some move if I go somewhere, or fail to go, some will be delighted, some will criticize me for it. This was evident now, on several occasions. Thus it is more a case of a personal choice as to what one should do in a given situation. Of course, as far as situations are concerned in which I myself decide. If it is a case of issues on whch the Presidency should decide, then decisions are reached by agreement.

The next question related to a vision of Yugoslavia in 5 years, at the end of the mandate of this Presidency.

I will reply to you as I wrote in my program prior to my election in Slovenia to this post, Drnovsek said. At that time I said our aim should be that in 5 years we will establish economic efficiency in the country with an economic system compatible with Europe's or any other more effective system in the world, in which we could be included. [We should do this] so that we can be included

in European integration and so that we do not remain outside these processes which are intensive and underway there. In other words, in 5 years Yugoslavia should be a country with a convertible currency and a country which would be, defacto, economically, and on many other bases, included in Europe. There should not be a European fortress leaving us somewhere outside. We should create a democratic system. I was particularly keen on creating a legal system that would really function correctly, in which every individual could get real attention.

I believe this would be a Yugoslavia which would be organized on the basis of agreements between its nations and nationalities, where republics would be treated equally, and where decisions would be made in common on vital issues.

Since we envision this in 5 years, and you have been here now for 5 months, have we achieved 10 percent of this, was the final question.

We have not achieved 10 percent, because some things and some processes which began a long time ago are now reaching their culmination, Drnovsek said. Interethic conflicts have deteriorated and inflation is now great. We have done something in the domain of the economic system and its compatibility with the world system. Here we have made a good start.

Second, we have achieved something in connection with our drawing closer to European trends toward integration. Here some activities have been begun and we have provided an initiative. I believe that here we can do something postive and successful, but all this is dependent on our interethnic conflicts calming down so that we can peacefully and constructively reach agreement on the way in which we will live together in this Yugoslavia, without quarrelling and without wasting energy on mutual bickering. [This is also provided that] we spend our energy on economic breakthroughs and on the construction of our society and that we exploit our potential, especially that of the young people of whom we have many with good education and with much energy, which we have not succeed in exploiting. If our government were, in addition to this, to be successful in the economic sphere in combating inflation, I believe the conditions would be created for things to begin to take a turn for the better. If things were beginning to get better, then other things would also be resolved very rapidly; foreign investors, foreign financial initiatives, and our domestic investors are waiting. At the moment they are not investing anything in Yugoslavia because the situation is so confused. No one knows the outcome of this situation. If we ensure this positive development, I am convinced that many thngs will then develop and be accompanied by other things so that we might be able to make a rapid recovery, Dr Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, said in an interview with Belgrade television.

Hungarian Party Name Change 'Political Maneuver'

AU1310203689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Oct 89 p 2

[Gordana Logar commentary: "Hungarians Without Dogma"]

[Text] Perhaps even more than the changes that have taken place in recent days in the Hungarian ruling party (after all, they were clearly announced as early as in the spring), today attention deserves to be focused on the world's reaction to these changes, as well as the almost bizarre, even semantic (because of the language of dogma) problems resurrected from the transformation of yesterday's communists into today's socialists.

Until last week, the Hungarian Communists were, for a full 33 years, part of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP)—that is, not "communist"—but now they have been rechristened as the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP). It is not the first time that a party has changed its name, but it probably is the first time in the world of apparently monolithic socialism that the name also bears a new political platform. In particular, it is the first time that communists in power have decided to enter into free electoral competition with other parties, creating in practice competition for itself through its own decree on a multiparty system.

However, it would be quite unjustified to think that therefore they have decided to step down from power. It should rather be believed that this is a skillful political maneuver to actually stay in power, even though they would be sharing it with others in a coalition government. The accusations that they are abandoning socialism are rejected with effective arguments about the rejection of Stalinism. Other arguments are less ideological and more practical: The reforms were not a success, the standard of living has fallen, the country is a long way from prosperity, the leaders have quarreled even though they lived well as an elite in contrast to the majority of Hungarians, the party was more important than the state, party members were more important than the vast majority that were outside the party ranks, and there has been little respect for human rights.

Therefore—by rejecting democratic centralism and the dictatorship of the proletariat (which is usually regarded as proof of loyalty to the workers class even when they live miserably)—the HSP has only said that they are remaining loyal to the traditional communist values of justice and solidarity and have loudly oriented themselves toward democratic socialism, human rights, a market economy, and the rule of law above everything else. After detailed discussion, more vehement polemics, and finally compromise, even "without a rift in the leadership," the new name and the new platform were voted on by the delegates at the congress of the former MSZMP, who were elected "in the grass roots and on behalf of the grass roots," which so far has always been the case and has always been recognized. However, it is

interesting that, despite this recognized way, those who either did not zealously support the reforms (because of their convictions or lost privileges) or perhaps did not even understand them, immediately afterwards called the new HSP a "party without a membership."

Such an approach, which is logical in opposition nonsocialist parties, is undoubtedly inspired in the socialist ranks of critics by a renunciation of democratic centralism and the dictatorship of the proletariat and by the introduction of a multiparty system. It also shows that it is not easy to get rid of dogma, if only in words. Even if the new HSP had renounced dogmatic terminology as much as it could, it would not have to be denied its membership because the party could have acquired it legally and immediately through the good old word and practice of "reregistering members."

Another quandary stemming from the same thing also came to light after the birth of the HSP. Since the new party renounced the party state, the question was asked: "Who will now make the decisions instead of the former MSZMP? This quandary, called the "power vacuum," dazzlingly revealed the quite simple truth that both the parliament and the government (institutions of power) had existed even in the previous Hungarian socialism, but they were only considered a cover for party decisions.

It is certainly understandable that there are numerous comments, criticisms, and doubts about what is happening today in the Hungarian political leadership. This country has finally embarked on the untrodden and, as they themselves say, "peaceful" road to a new type of socialism. However, it is not easy to understand that most of the changes were greeted with phrases from a time that the HSP wants to forget: "the abandonment of socialism," "the plunge into capitalism," "a sell-out to foreign capital," and "counterrevolution." It is not easy to understand for the simple reason that these approaches virtually flatter capitalism, which had the guts to take from socialist values—most often through the trade union movements—what it considered acceptable. It does not seem today that the new HSP is giving up socialism, but it cannot be denied that it has the guts to enter an electoral race with other parties.

If it loses trust and wins few votes, does this inevitably mean that the old MSZMP would have succeeded under the same conditions? It really remains to be seen whether the Hungarian voters have confidence in the present socialists who were former Communists, although it is not quite certain that they were all Communists of a type that should be mourned. Finally, they were not even officially called Communists, in contrast to the Italian party which has never been in power, which makes the whole situation more bizarre.

If the HSP really loses in the elections, this will perhaps be more proof that the present Hungarian political party leadership was right: that only a minority was in power whose policies and reforms had to remain without support and success no matter how well-intentioned they were.

Sundic Comments on East European Reform

LD1310191489 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev's telegram to the newly-elected leader of the Hungarian Socialist Party, Rezso Nyers, and Nikolay Ryzhkov's interview to the Italian paper LA REPUBBLICA have removed, at least so far, all the doubts that perhaps have given rise to some people's fears regarding a possible negative reaction of the Soviets to the changes in Hungary. Nonetheless, Moscow has realized and accepted the newly-arisen situation both in Hungary and Poland and for the time being it appears that Moscow will not change its conduct even if they sooner or later take hold in the GDR or Czechoslovakia.

So far there has not been opposing opinions in the Soviet Union and it is unlikely that there will be any either as long as perestroyka and glasnost continue to be the dominant commitment of the Soviet Party. This of course, does not refer to the dogmatic forces in the Soviet Union who are at odds with perestroyka and glasnost and do not favor by any means the process of democratization that has seemingly embraced Europe's whole East to the point of no return. The fact that the Hungarians and the Poles have gone one step beyond does not mean that all that they have gotten nearer to the desired goal but primarily that the conservative forces in the two countries do not have firm support to prevent the things that have happened. In the GDR, for instance, they resort to the old recipes to prevent unwanted change but this obviously will not yield the wanted results. Gorbachev's visit to Berlin was not perceived as unreserved support for Honecker so if changes in the GDR are going to depend solely on Moscow's behavior they, in the light of all this, will be unavoidable. Such a conclusion is also suggested by Nikolay Ryzhkov's interview to the Italian LA REPUBBLICA and Mikhail Gorbachev's silence after his return to Moscow. On the other hand the Soviet press has also reported on the changes in Hungary and Poland in a very fair way and has not obscured anything essential as to what was happening in Berlin during Gorbachev's visit.

Moscow's views on the events in East Europe operate along two lines. One is purely of a military and strategic nature and the other one is ideological. In our opinion Mikhail Gorbachev strives to prevent the former from excluding the latter, or to be more precise, the process of democratization which has knocked on all the doors in East Europe—with the exception of Romania—from jeopardizing the existing military balance. Of course, another question may be posed in the same breath: How

long will the Warsaw Pact be alive if the Polish Government is headed by a non communist premier, that is, if the other countries of the bloc, for example Hungary, flee yet another step further from yesterday's point. The Soviet Union itself is aware of the fact that the Warsaw Pact should be readjusted to the new situation in relations between socialist countries and between communist and workers' parties. However, what is to be done if the fate of the Warsaw Pact is decided by non-communist governments?

So far there are no answers and it will be hard to find them unless the West readjusts itself to the trends in Eastern Europe. A strong military in the West and a dethroned Warsaw Pact is a meager solace for all those who see the existence of the military alliances as the greater danger to lasting and stable peace in Europe. All the more so since everyone ought to comprehend that any deterioration in the military balance in Europe would deal the most severe blow to the processes of democratization in the East and the spirit of Helsinki. Faced with such a danger, and assuming that the West is not aware of it, Gorbachev would hardly be able to survive. The countries of East Europe should also be aware of that in the interest of their own peace.

Alleged Albanian Support for Militiaman Attack

AU1210151689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Oct 89 p 12

[N. Babic report: "Shatri—Allegedly On Vacation"]

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Oct—While the pursuit of Naser Shatri continues, let us recall that his brother Xhafer Shatri also once escaped from Pec Prison. The Shatri family seems to have friends in high places, because, even in 1982, Xhafer Shatri escaped from prison without any kind of difficulty. The guards supposedly forgot to lock the door, and an official Mercedes was waiting for him outside the prison to carry him to the border!

Naser Shatri, like his brother Xhafer, has been active in emigre circles. We have been informed unofficially that his friends and accomplices in Sweden, where he lives, are Ramadan Osmani and Zeka Milain, terrorists known to our public as distributors of leaflets and organizers of illegal organizations.

Naser Shatri left for Sweden in 1986 and took his family with him. It is interesting that, even though his family was not in our country, he used to return to Kosovo about 10 times a year. He was seen in elegant cars, a new one each time. He usually drove a Mercedes or a Ferrari.

It is certain that Xhafer and Naser spent this summer on vacation in Durres at the expense of the Albanian Government. There were innumerable leaders of Albanian emigres at the luxurious summer house which is reserved for the Albanian leadership. According to some reports, the "spontaneous demonstrations" of Albanian emigres that take place in Switzerland, Belgium, the United States, Sweden, and other Western European countries, normally with the blessing of the authorities, are planned every year at such summer resorts. It is interesting that the Albanian emigres have obtained permission to demonstrate through representatives of the Swiss Communist Party. It is not clear what kind of connection the Swiss Communist Party has with the Albanian emigres. However, they are believed to finance the publication of anti-Yugoslav books. Xhafer Shatri is one of the foremost authors, offering the West his views on Greater Albania and an ethnically pure Kosovo. The Shatri brothers have also been observed to have connections with various commissions for the protection of human rights and democracy, to which they have gained access thanks to Albanian diplomats.

As we have learned since the attempted murder of the employee of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs, Tomislav Babovic, another Shatri brother who lives in Ljubljana has disappeared. It is difficult to say whether the Shatri brothers have already crossed the border, but they are obviously becoming increasingly dangerous. Investigations are trying to establish how Shatri managed to come armed to the militia station, although enough has been known for years about his work abroad.

It remains unclear who really pays the Albanian emigres and who gives them money for their fancy cars, lavishly published books, summer vacations, and other privileges. It is also unknown how many marks Naser Shatri received to murder Tomislav Babovic and to awake the "slumbering spirit" of the Albanian nationalists.

SFRY-Albania Economic Session Open in Belgrade

LD1710131289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1036 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Oct (TANJUG)—The first session of the mixed Yugoslav-Albanian committee for economic, scientific and technical cooperation opened in Belgrade today. The Yugoslav delegation is headed by Nikola Gasoski, member of the Federal Executive Council, and the Albanian by Farudin Hoxha, minister in the Albanian Government.

Daily Views Future of Slovenian League

AU1310124589 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 10 Oct 89 p 5

[Boris Jez commentary: "How Far Does the League of Communists of Slovenia Dare Go?"]

[Text] **In the present stormy period when events are overtaking each other, the following two events, occurring in quick succession of each other within a very brief span of time, will certainly and especially influence the internal development in the Slovene party organization: the amendments to the Slovene Constitution (together with all the unprecedented hysteria that accompnies them) and the Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] at which the party abolished itself.**

The fact is that at the latest plenum of the Yugoslav highest party leadership the Slovene communists were outvoted in matters that fall within the scope of the sovereign rights of the Slovene people. As a result of this development, the problem of the relationship between the party majority and the party minority within the framework of the federal state has become exacerbated in the extreme. The Slovene party organization has found itself in a position which augurs for it the long-term role of a minority faction which is furthermore expected—strictly according to the statutory provisions—even to act contrary to the majority will of the people whom it represents "in a certain sense." It is probably unnecessary to specifically explain why this placement of Slovene communists between the imperatives of democratic centralism and the statehood of the Slovene people is untenable. The League of Communists [LC] of Slovenia will have to extricate itself from this unpleasant situation as soon as possible because otherwise it might first win a few more important battles and then the wheel of time will mercilessly run it over.

Whereas the Belgrade plenum primarily challenges us to reflect about the position of the LC of Slovenia within Yugoslavia, the just concluded MSZMP Congress at which the MSZMP "refounded" itself into a socialist party leads us to reflect about the further processes of the internal transformation of the LC of Slovenia. It is a fact that for some time now the question of changing the present name of the "party" has also been topical within the LC of Slovenia itself (even though the people involved are somewhat reluctant to talk about it at this time); of course, such a change would not be a purely symbolic move. The question is whether the Slovene Communists dare go as far as the Hungarian Communists have gone, that is, whether they dare dissolve their organization, use its present core to form a modern socialist party, and leave it to other factions to politically organize themselves acording to their own judgment. There is considerable evidence that the present situation in which the LC "covers" at least one half of the sphere of Slovene political arena cannot be perpetuated indefinitely: The internal tensions (for instance, the affair with Popit, resignations of young intellectuals, and so forth) are obviously increasing and the opposition, too, probably will not be prepared much longer to creatively cooperate with a "mega-party," which the LC still is at present.

Thus the further transformation of the LC of Slovenia will not be marked as much by any shifts in its world outlook (the questions of law-governed state, human rights, and so forth, are already being discussed everywhere) as it will be marked by its own specific and self-directed changing of its position in the Yugoslav and Slovene political arena. Even the latest federal party plenum already provided evidence that for the leading trend in the LC of Slovenia there are some other things that are more sacred than the "proletarian internationalism" and the party discipline and therefore there is probably no ground for any doubt about whether the Slovene Communists will try to at least revalue their relationship with Belgrade. The fact is that this relationship is an expressly one-way street by which it is possible to reach Ljubljana with directives or by tanks, whereas, as can be seen, the Slovene metropolis has an ever diminishing influence on the political self-perpetuation of the real socialist [realsocialisticni] highest party leadership. Of course, there can be no doubt that precisely for this reason any attempt of the Slovene party to wrest itself from the "iron embrace" of the LCY would provoke an incomparably greater hysteria than the amendments to the Slovene Constitution.

The internal "restructuring" of the LC of Slovenia, which, to tell the truth, was topical in one way or another long before the Budapest congress, naturally is not a process parallel to but rather closely connected with a new definition of the position of Slovene communists within the Yugoslav party organization. In future the LC of Slovenia (or any kind of a possible successor to it) will be able to successfully legitimate itself on the pluralist political scene in the republic only as an independent subjective political factor and not as a mere "outpost of the Belgrade Comintern," no matter how democratic and national-protective the latter may become. And in this connection the so-called left wing must be entitled to have its own LC of Slovenia or Communist Party of Slovenia representing one kind or another of "Yugoslav politics;" if the LCY finds such a partner in Slovenia suitable, then this is all right too, but of course it is also necessary to count on the fact that such a partner will represent a political minority.

All in all, the Slovene party organization has suffered too strong historical blows from the left and the right within a short period of time to still be able to continue its "rappel from power" down the most gradual descents over an extended period of time. After the latest plenum of the highest federal party leadership (and after the Budapest MSZMP Congress) the present leadership of the LC of Slovenia will not be able to act much longer as though nothing has happened and perhaps to even participate in a disciplined manner in the pseudo-ideological seances in Belgrade where it can mainly only count on the pillar of shame. Such "opportunism" could reduce the LC of Slovenia to a completely defensive position and at the same time deprive it of that measure of reputation that the leadershijp of the LC of Slovenia has succeeded in winning with the "sweat of its brow" in recent times. In any case, the defensive position (but not tactical waiting) is the worst possible solution in these stormy times.